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Labor Age

The National Monthly

Whither American Labor?

By A. J. Muste

What About Injunctions?

Arthur Garfield Hays, John F. Gatelee, Van Bittner

Revolt: From Perth Amboy to Passaic

A General Strike In New York

Labor Banking Rebuttal
SpOILs & BrOILs

"Nationalization" Aids Unionism
"40 For Furs"

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CONTRIBUTORS:

CICELY APPELBAUM, Labor publicity woman.
VAN BITTNER, General Organizer, United Mine Workers.
JOHN F. GATELEE, Sec'y, Springfield (Mass.) Central Body; has fought many injunction cases.
ARTHUR GARFIELD HAYS, Well known New York lawyer; attorney for American Civil Liberties Union in many cases, including Scopes case.
A. J. MUSTE, Dean Brookwood Workers' College; Vice-President, American Federation of Teachers.

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N. Y. Teachers Union

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Labor Age

The National Monthly

New Jersey Awakens

Perth Amboy, Elizabeth, Bayonne, Passaic—Astir!

By LOUIS FRANCIS BUDENZ



BIRDS-EYE VIEW OF NEW JERSEY
As the Employers Want to Keep It

THE UNORGANIZED CAN BE ORGANIZED

Prophecy is one of our specialties. We are modest enough to admit it. Only a few short months ago did we point to the possibilities of industrial uprisings in the drab hell-holes of Northern New Jersey. We envisaged all of that accursed region ablaze with worker's revolt. The prophecy is nearing fulfillment. The revolt has begun, and unionization is in progress. Let this thing be written down, as a result: That everywhere the unorganized CAN be organized, if we but set about the task of doing it, with militancy and intelligence as our weapons.

IT was a pitiful little "hall", formerly a store-room, barely able to hold the 30 to 40 men and women assembled on that Sunday afternoon in March. The meeting was late in getting started, and there was an air of discouragement and disorganization about the whole affair. But there was fire underneath, the fire in these few workers' souls—the defiance that they were determined to express to the stupid stiff-neckedness of His Honor, the Mayor of Perth Amboy.

His Honor knew nothing of history, particularly of American history: such ignorance being a qualification, apparently, for holding most of the high offices in New

Jersey. He had thought that agitation can be ended by being suppressed. And in making his decree that certain agitators should not appear within the confines of "his" city, he had let out the black cat of Perth Amboy. "Conditions are so bad here," he had said, "that we don't want them to be exposed, as they have been in Passaic."

This was a protest meeting against His Honor's action, and altogether it seemed a very fragile affair. Most of those in the audience could scarcely understand the speaker, and he was obliged to address them in very distinct and simple English. Evidently, however, he did not lack confidence in his cause. "The answer to this attempt to suppress agitation is more and fiercer agitation," he counselled. "Go back into your factories, intelligently and prudently but with fire and determination, and give the message of organization to your fellow-workers. We want to see Perth Amboy ablaze. That is the way to express your contempt for this stunted mentality which calls itself your Mayor."

It was a rather rash order. But the workers took him at his word. The fire from that little meeting has spread among the highly inflammable conditions of Perth Amboy—the low wages and stinking tyranny—and has let in a light on what has been going on there. Unionization of the unorganized has begun.

Hatfield's Dirty Job

Much of that which followed has been told me by Henry F. Hilfers, Secretary of the New Jersey Federation of Labor and General Organizer for the American Federation of Labor. He was called in by the brick and clay workers of the American Fireproofing Co., who were the first to strike.

There is a man in Perth Amboy by the name of Hatfield. You must be introduced to him, before we go any further with this tale. He is the Secretary of the local Chamber of Commerce. He handles the labor policy of all the large corporations which dominate the town: the American Smelting and Refining Co. (controlled by the Guggenheims); the Raritan Copper Works (branch of the Anaconda Trust); U. S. Metal Refining Co.; Standard Underground Cable Co., and the Barber Asphalt Co. Hatfield is the "go-getter" who checks up on these corporations and keeps them from giving to the workers that which they in the goodness of their hearts might be tempted to give! He attends all conferences on labor matters, and always takes the unbending attitude that the corporations must not budge an inch. Like the young Amalec who claimed he slew Saul, Hatfield is more zealous about the business of his masters than they are themselves. But these modern Davids do not slay such a faithful servant. They reward him handsomely.

Two and two can be put together. With the employers thus united and the workers totally unorganized in these big concerns, labor conditions have become intolerable. The system prevails. And the situation is rendered airtight by the PERTH AMBOY NEWS, which is controlled body and soul by the Chamber of Commerce group. All news of workers' dissatisfaction or workers' activity is rigidly suppressed—thus setting the pace for the city administration, which is one of the most inefficient and perhaps one of the most corrupt in the entire state.

Brick Workers Fight for Victory No. 1

The brick and clay workers are the especial victims of the task system. In one form or another, it has been a feature of their industry for many years. In the American Fireproofing Co., it works in this way: The men are paid a base rate of 41 cents per hour, for an output of 180 tons per day. This is raised as the daily output goes up, until it runs from 52 to 69 cents an hour, on an output going up to 300 tons. But the scheme is worked out in such a way, as can be seen, that the workers get less per ton as their daily output increases. Roughly, they are defrauded of one-third of their wages on each additional ton. They are speeded up to their physical limit, much on the order of the hay tied to a stick in front of a donkey. The net result of their excessive labors being a much reduced production cost for the Fireproofing Company.

They have further been compelled to work, sometimes for whole days, without pay for their efforts. In the baking of the bricks, the kilns are kept at a white heat. The men can handle the material only 15 minutes at a time, during this process, and must then get fresh air for 15 minutes. Otherwise, they would collapse at the job. The company plays the Good Samaritan in such cases by docking them for the 15 minutes of necessary

rest. It also pays them nothing for cleaning the kilns—or rather, it has not paid them for this work in the past. In the baking of the bricks and in handling them in the kilns, a number are necessarily broken. The kiln becomes dirty and clogged. Before new tiers can be set for baking, a clean-up must take place. The entire work-day is frequently consumed in this operation—for which not a cent is paid.

The company, not content with such practices, also violated the New Jersey law which requires employers to pay their workmen in cash. Mr. Guy Weaver, for the company, insisted that he had been given permission to do this by Commissioner Lewis Bryant of the New Jersey Department of Labor, because of the danger of hold-ups. Mr. Hatfield was even more belligerent about the matter, and said the company could not yield. "But," said Mr. Hilfers, representing the men, "you must yield. Commissioner Bryant has no power to rescind state laws. The danger of hold-ups is much less than it was, and you can relieve yourself of the entire responsibility by insuring yourselves through the American Express Co. You know as well as I that they will bring your money in an armored car, as they do for other concerns. And is it fair that you be more protected from hold-ups than the men? One saloonkeeper in this city alone cashes from \$6,000 to \$7,000 worth of checks every week. The men never get the odd change when they get this 'favor' done for them, even if it runs up to 90 cents. They must also buy drinks and other things, and go home with greatly reduced pay. If they go to a bank, they must lose 2 or 3 hours work, and then they may not be able to be identified."

Last month the brick and clay workers went out on strike, 100 per cent strong. Brother Hilfers, as their representative, was able to secure all their demands. They received a 4 to 5 cent per hour increase; pay is to be made in cash; "dead" work is to be paid for; a readjustment will be made of the tonnage rates. If the company has not done all these things by next pay-day, the men will come out again. They understand, now, that there is a shortage of labor and that they cannot readily be replaced. Had they remained in an unorganized status, or in a "company union", they would not have known this fact. An organizer from the international of the Brick and Clay Workers has now come into the State, to weld them into a permanent local union.

That is Victory No. 1 in Perth Amboy. The terra cotta workers and the copper workers have been quick to see wherein their salvation lies. They are getting ready for Victories 2 and 3. And the cable workers will come next. They are the focal point of attack, and their story will appear in a subsequent issue.

Slavery at Durant's

Coming up from Perth Amboy by the Lincoln Highway—I advise you not to take the Pennsylvania Railroad, for it is still scabby with Atterburyism and non-union shopmen—it is an easy matter to run into Elizabeth, and the Durant Automobile Works there. Not so long ago, first four and then twelve "agitators" were arrested by the company guards of this plant. They were charged

with technical violations of city ordinances, but their real crime was the dissemination of literature, anti-Durant in tone.

Meetings of protest were held against their arrests, and the same advice as that given in Perth Amboy was given here. "The answer to suppression is more agitation. Thumb your noses at cops and courts."

That is a message that should be heard everywhere. It works miracles. As soon as the workers learn that policemen and judges are largely lazy loafers, unfit for honest work, and that much of their power is as flimsy as their uniforms and robes of office, the path to rapid organization becomes a comparatively easy one.

The upholsterers at Durant's have learned that—and they have organized. They are the most skilled of the workers there—and their example will, we hope, be followed by the others. Surely these others have deep and bitter grievances. The modern "padrone" system is in full flower among them. It is the foreman who gets the cream of their labor. He is a sort of sub-contractor, who bleeds the men and receives a bonus for such bleeding. He is intent in trying endless ways and means to cut wages, and his job is rendered easier by a complicated piece-work system. The poor slaves come out wrecks, from the speeding-up, with the foremen and the company the winners. No man can ever be sure what the wage rate of the next week will be. The restlessness among these men, which has alarmed the Durant management and its foremen, can be understood.

Rumbles of revolt have moved from the automobile plant—where they are growing in volume—to the Singer Sewing Machine Co., out as Elizabethport. Here the most abject forms of slavery exist. And Elizabeth is likely to see—as these pages will relate in later months—a union campaign such as it has never seen in all its years of existence.

Standard Oil Becomes Worried

But we must hasten to Bayonne, across Newark Bay, if we want to catch the last day shift at the oil companies on the Hook. There is trouble brewing there, too, much trouble—for John the Baptist's hired men in executive office. The Standard has become worried, and has appointed a special publicity representative for Bayonne alone—a man by the name of Keppel, from the Personnel Department. It is his job to fill the men and the "public" full of additional bunk about the so-called "Republic of Labor". Already has LABOR AGE won the new vacation concession for the men, and the companies don't know what may be coming next. There is a municipal election on this year, also, and the city administration can hardly be counted on as a strike-breaking agency at such a critical time for its own existence. The Tide-water and Vacuum Companies, being subsidiaries of the Standard, naturally allow it to take the lead. The companies are united, closer than at Perth Amboy—by actual joint ownership—and yet they solemnly forbid the men at the Standard the right to meet with other oil workers on the Hook. That is their idea of a "Republic". It is the same idea that they have of the "Republic" of the United States, when they use the State Department to help in the seizure of foreign oil conces-

sions. The workers on the Hook will not be such easy marks, we prophecy, as was the Hon. Charles Evans Hughes, with all his whiskers and his wisdom! (See Louis Fischer's OIL IMPERIALISM.)

An index of the way things are going at the Standard is that "Jonesy" is talking strike. Of all men! "Jonesy" is none other than Geo. H. Jones, company representative off and on and politician extraordinary. It is widely said that he merely works at the Standard in order to have a lever for his job in the city hall. Be that as it may, he is a good company man. His strike talk is, therefore, interesting. To the oil workers we can merely say: "Beware of politicians!" They think of themselves and of themselves alone. When you strike, strike under other leadership than that of "Jonesy".

Politicians are everywhere the tools of the Rockefellerers. Out in Bayway, their other big oil center, the leading figure in the company union is none other than Fred Brodesser, clerk of the New Jersey General Assembly. Mr. Brodesser played a prominent and helpful part (for the company) in suppressing the strike of the 31 representatives under the company union plant a few years ago.

There is something formidable about the oil refineries on the Hook. We can understand how the companies count on the very atmosphere to intimidate the men. There is one pathway through their properties—a narrow alley-way dignified by the name of 22nd Street. It reminds you of the streets in medieval cities, without side-walks, and with the oil properties jutting upon it like castles in the olden towns. The street winds and twists, to suit the oil companies, going hither and thither until it ends in an oil company gate—with the big tanks of the Asiatic Petroleum Co., subsidiary of the Dutch Shell, looking down upon you. Guards in gray are at every gate, a number of them—to prevent you from smoking and also to learn your business. And yet, that is a public highway. And I have tread it, with a message of organization, without difficulty—even in defiance of Mr. Coler, General Managerissimus. And the workers can go out upon it, too, when it strikes their fancy—in another "strike" in oil, that will not be so pleasant for the Rockefellerers. We predict that conclusion to the present story—if it takes a year to bring it to pass. In time, the workers will read between the lines on those yellow signs on the oil company fences, letting the world know that "Laborers are Wanted". Spelled out, that means a labor shortage. A labor shortage means a successful strike—if all go out together. The unconcealed worry at the Standard is a joy to the hearts of freemen.

Oil Profits in 1925

The oil workers will also ponder over the companies' profits. Leland Olds, the economic editor of the Federated Press, has given us the figures for 12 oil companies. In those dozen enterprises, the common stockholders got away with \$416,624,102 in net profits in one year—that should have gone to the workers. The Standard of New Jersey, as we stated in the last issue, headed the list with a 1925 profit of \$111,231,355. When preferred dividends are taken out, over \$97,000,000 remains for the common stockholders, a nice amount of swag.

Mr. Olds gives the following figures, for the amounts "earned" by common stock last year, and the percentage of profit on the actual investment that these amounts represent:

Oil Profits 1925	Amount	Percent
Standard of N. J.	\$97,233,252	95
Standard of Ind.	52,932,648	3,500
Standard of Calif.	43,629,295	54
Standard of N. Y.	41,580,386	217
Vacuum Oil	24,230,091	39
Humble Oil	22,623,789	91
Texas Co.	39,605,078	26
Gulf Oil Corp.	35,000,761	96
Pan-American P. & T.	27,335,994	20
Marland Oil	14,799,069	21
Associated Oil	10,465,249	19
Standard of Ky.	7,188,490	143

From Bayonne it is not a long distance to Passaic—where the textile workers are entrenched. Still 100 per cent strong. Still supported by their churches, to the surprise of the mill barons, who thought they were all "reds", or tried to tell it to the world. You know the reason for such a heroic stand. Men and women do not strike for so long without reason. Mr. Noel Sargent of the National Manufacturers' Association has tried to spread the lie that they were a happy family until the Bolshevik serpent came into their midst. As an Ananias, Mr. Sargent is rather clumsy. It is the \$20 a week average wage and the petty tyrannies of the Kaiseristic bosses that have produced this revolt. And won, it will be. No matter what the definite outcome, it is already won.

On top of all this, the American Federation of Labor is conducting a drive for organization among women workers in New Jersey. There are 250,000 of such workers in this state. Misunderstanding the necessity for organization, they have served as a good means to drag down the men. The drive is changing this situation. It is receiving the support of prominent women out of the union ranks, such as Miss Katherine Wiley and Miss Florence Halsey.

If, as the Preacher of the Bible says: "He that taketh away the bread gotten by sweat is like him that killeth his neighbor," then there are many murderers at large in New Jersey. Labor must carry on its own campaign against this crime wave—and bring to time the criminals of the oil, textile and other manufacturing places that disgrace this so-called American commonwealth. Keep up the fight!

WHAT'S RIGHT WITH THIS PICTURE?



"THE PIED PIPER"

It's all right—even if it is taken from "Forbes Magazine" of May 15th. "Forbes" is the magazine "for busy business men". Unconsciously its editor and cartoonist told the truth, and played a trick upon themselves. They titled this cartoon "The Pied Piper". Such piper being the National Electric Light Association. With his pipe of cooperation he is luring "Customers", "Investors" and "Employees" on and on. To where? To destruction, of course! For in the old legend of the Pied Piper, first he lured the rats of the town of Hamelin to destruction; then, he lured all the children of the town to a big cave to be destroyed, when the town failed to reward him for his rat-killing. Whether the business man's magazine looks upon folks who fall for the "Cooperation" stuff—through stock-selling, company unionism, etc.—as rats or children, we cannot say. But otherwise, it has told a solid truth. For that we offer congratulations.

CRIME COMMISSIONS AND ORGANIZATION DRIVES

GVERNOR A. HARRY MOORE of New Jersey has just appointed a crime commission.

He will serve as its chairman. Bearing out the thought in this article, we submit that the Governor should first go into the Basic Crimes—those which never feel the hand of the Law. The Bible is the authority quoted in support of the assertion

that he "who taketh away the bread gotten by sweat" is the same as a murder. Arraign Messrs. Rockefeller, Forstman, Hoffman, and the other desperadoes of New Jersey, Mr. Governor, and you will have gotten at the source of Crime. It is their ruthless robberies and murderings that set the example which others, less-nimble-witted and less powerful, follow to their destruction.

Whither American Labor?

The Outlook For Our Movement

By A. J. MUSTE

IT IS a popular indoor sport in some circles to vilify the American Labor Movement and indiscriminately to condemn its leadership. It is true that the American Labor Movement is not perfect and doubtless some labor leaders deserve all the condemnation they receive. But there must be a little something wrong with the vision of the individual who can see good in the British labor movement, the French, the Italian, the Patagonion—every movement in fact except his own. Wholesale criticism may be as wide of the mark as wholesale adulation and flag waving. The pessimist may be as far from seeing things as they are as the optimist. As the poet said, "If hopes are dupes, fears may be liars." We believe there is some kick left in the American Movement.

Just to make sure that we are not fooling ourselves, however, let us look for a moment at the dark side of the situation confronting American Labor. It must be admitted that there is no lack of seriously discouraging factors.

American capital made itself supreme on the earth during the World War. No Labor Movement has a more powerful enemy to fight than the American.

America has still vast untapped resources, tremendous possibilities of expansion. It is probable, therefore, that American capital can continue to pay high wages and keep American workers relatively content, weaning them away from organization, while capital itself continues to reap enormous profits.

Organized Labor was drastically deflated after the war by a subtle and vicious open shop campaign that stopped at nothing. It has hardly begun to recover from the attack.

In many of the basic industries, the unions of which form the backbone of the labor movement in other countries, American trade unions have little or no organization or control. This is true of steel, textiles, railroad shop crafts, packing, oil refining, agricultural machinery, and the metal industries generally.

In the basic industry—mining—where trade unionism seemed to be firmly entrenched, the employers or trade conditions or whatever it may be, seem to be pushing the union to the wall. A few years ago 70 per cent of soft coal production in this country was turned out under union control, today the percentage is not much over 30.

Spirit of Independence Low

In many of the industries where unions have little or no hold the employers have been following a labor policy involving company union plans, welfare work, group insurance, employee's stock ownership, etc. Ap-

parently this policy has been successful in keeping down discontent and the spirit of organization among the workers. Meanwhile many unions seem to be in extremely conservative, even reactionary, hands.

Coolidge is president of the United States. If a worse indictment than that can be drawn against the American "peepul," the writer does not know about it. There seems to be less spirit of independence in the American people that at any other time in their history.

Under these circumstances, what is to prevent American capital from marching on to the conquest of the world, ably assisted by contented American workers who are warned away from every attempt at legitimate organization by the tale that trade unionism means bolshevism and anarchy and that these things are responsible for the low standard of living of European workers, from which American workers can be saved only by being faithful to their employers and refraining from organization?

A dark picture indeed! Is there a silver lining to the cloud? We believe there is.

The Silver Lining

In the first place the position of American capitalism is by no means so comfortable and certain as might at first appear. Many reputable economists have been pointing out lately that while real wages have advanced in this country of late, the rate at which we have been turning out goods has advanced much more rapidly. We are constantly therefore piling up a surplus of goods. If this surplus remains in America it must lead to another crisis of "over-production," unemployment, etc. If the surplus American industry is piling up is invested abroad, American capital will be brought into competition for markets and raw materials with other countries. There is nothing to indicate that such competition must not end in another disastrous war, as was the case 10 years ago.

The only thing that could save American industry from this dilemma would be, as was indicated by action of the American Federation of Labor convention last fall, to shorten hours and to increase wages to such an extent that American workers themselves would be able to consume what they produced. But there is no important agency in this country that is honestly pushing this program of shorter hours and higher wages except the trade union movement.

On the surface, company unions seem to be having things their own way just now, but the company unions have not solved this question of shorter hours and increased wages either. In this fundamentally important matter they are following the lead of the trade unions.

Thus under the Rockefeller plan in Colorado the mine wages go up or down in accordance with the scale of the United Mine Workers of America. It would seem to follow that more and more the company unions must transform themselves into bona-fide trade unions or they are bound to break down when the question of shorter hours and higher wages becomes critical.

Furthermore, the story of high wages and a conciliatory labor policy is by no means so universal as we sometimes seem to think. It is not the case among the million textile workers in this country; it is not the case with the 700,000 soft coal miners. At many points wages are being driven down and there is a direct attack being launched against trade unions and the standards of living of the workers. Sooner or later this will produce revolt.

Heroic Battles

Nor does the organized labor movement itself make such a poor showing on its record since the war, when we look into the matter closely. It may have lost ground at important points but it has not done so without putting up heroic battles. The steel strike, the several miners' strikes, the textile strikes, the railroad shopmen's strike are all cases in point. A movement that can fight like this cannot be permanently kept down.

There has been a serious loss of membership since the wartime peak, but even so the number of organized workers is now very much larger than before the war and the trend of union membership seems again to be definitely, if slowly, upward.

It is taking the unions some time to recover from the post war slump but even a brief glance at history serves to show that it is not taking up any longer now than it did after similar crises in the past.

In the recent La Follette campaign, the American labor movement for the first time endorsed independent political candidates for president and vice-president.

Labor has made notable experiments in the past few years in the field of banking, insurance, union—management cooperation, sharing responsibility for production, and workers' education. Each of these movements might be criticized and involves dangers that must be avoided. No one of them, nor all of them together, constitute a panacea guaranteed to solve all the ills of the workers. At the very least, however, these experiments indicate that American labor is fighting against company unionism, welfare work, etc., that it is not afraid to enter new fields, and that it is becoming increasingly conscious that in such varied fields as banking and education the usual institutions are not able to meet all its needs.

It had often been predicted that when Samuel Gompers died the A. F. of L. would disintegrate. President Gompers did pass away at a time when the movement was in the depths of the post-war depression. Nevertheless there is no sign of disintegration. President Green's leadership seems secure, the Federation appears more vigorous than in some years. The much dreaded transition has been successfully effected.

"Get Down to Work"—A Program

The moral would seem to be that while things might be better they also might be very much worse, and that the time has come for us to quit whining about them and to get down to work. What, then, are some of the tasks with which the American labor movement will be busy-ing itself in the next few years and in which we might all share?

1. We must heal the splits in the American labor movement. Let the so-called "lefts" stop crabbing about trade union leadership, stop introducing remote and irrelevant political issues into trade union activity, and throw their energy into organizing work. Let the so-called "rights" and the "leaders" stop trying to hide inefficiency, laziness, and corruption behind a smoke screen of attack on Communists, as is unfortunately sometimes the case.

2. We must meet the challenge of company unions. Meet it in part, at least, by frankly accepting some of the lessons the company unions have taught us. Company unions are usually organized on an industrial basis. In many cases they provide quicker channels through which the worker on the job may have his grievances adjusted than bonafide unions have done. Through so-called welfare work they have met many of the recreational, cultural and spiritual needs of the workers and their families which have often been neglected by trade unions.

3. We must organize the unorganized. This is the great concern of President Green of the American Federation of Labor. To meet the situation we shall somehow have to draw upon the great stores of experience in organizing work which now exist only in the heads of trade union organizers and officers, and at the same time shall have to use what modern psychology, advertising, and religious revivalism have to teach us about winning individuals and masses.

4. Each trade union must know thoroughly the industry with which it is concerned and must plan for the development of that industry. In the past we have too often fought against industry. Our fight is not against industry but against the wrong kind of control of industry and against waste and inefficiency in industry.

5. We must take seriously the "new wage policy" of the American Federation of Labor and press all along the line for a reduction of hours and an increase in wages at least commensurate with the great increase of production in this country.

6. In view of the situation confronting both the unions and the public in connection with coal mining and giant power development, we shall have to give serious consideration again to the question of whether we must not come eventually to nationalization of some of our basic resources and if so, how this is to be brought about.

7. All this implies increasing emphasis on workers' education. Only a technically trained leadership and an intelligent membership can meet the complex situation confronting the American workers. In this situation, power without intelligent direction is as helpless as theoretical knowledge without organized power.

F. & H.-ism in Passaic

A Study of a Company Union

By ROBERT W. DUNN

"The name of this organization shall be The Representative Assembly of Forstmann & Huffmann Company.... Its object is to promote the best interests of the Forstmann Hoffmann Company and of its Employees through mutual understanding, co-operation and good will."

From Article I and II of the Constitution of the Representative Assembly of Forstmann & Huffmann Co. (Passaic and Garfield, N. J.)

THE Representative Assembly of the Forstmann & Huffmann Co. was installed in 1920 shortly after a strike of the 4,000 workers of this company, together with the workers of other Passaic, Garfield and Clifton woolen and worsted mills.

At the moment it was introduced an independent local union of woolen workers—a product of the strike—was trying to get under way. The Passaic mill owners did not care to see this union flourish either independently or as a local of the Amalgamated Textile Workers of America to which it had affiliated. They were willing to do anything to kill it. They discharged and blacklisted workers who were active in this union. They conducted the most efficient labor espionage system this writer has ever known. They issued false and slanderous statements against A. J. Muste, Cedric Long, Matthew Pluhar and other trusted leaders of the Amalgamated locally and nationally. These statements were circulated in several foreign languages and handed out to the workers by the gate guards as they left the mills. These mimeographed sheets of lies and insinuations were prepared in the office of the Passaic Council of Wool Manufacturers and signed "Workers Intelligence Committee".

The companies also at this period used their local commissioners of public safety and police to close halls, intimidate hall owners, arrest speakers, drive workers out of halls, arrest active workers.

Anyone who has followed Passaic industrial history will recall the famous meeting at which the constitution was read by candle light by Norman Thomas, Albert De Silver and others, after the electricity had been turned off and the workers herded from the hall like cattle. They will also recall the exposure of the labor espionage system made by Alice Barrows, investigator for the United States Bureau of Education. They will remember too the careful studies of the appalling night work by women, made by the National Consumers League, and what the investigators had to say concerning the Prussian conditions in the Passaic mills.

Enter: The Company Union

Coincident with this state of affairs in Passaic came the Forstmann & Huffmann Representative Assembly—or in plain English, company union—talking about good will and cooperation. And with the introduction of

this company union conditions were not changed in the least. The spying, blacklisting, night work, propaganda of lies, breaking up of meetings continued.

From this review we may gather what pretty motives were in the heads of the German mill owners when they introduced employee representation. They merely wanted to reduce labor turnover, accentuate the speed up system and generally increase the incidence of exploitation. Dozens of affidavits sworn to by the workers of the F. & H., indicate the real objectives of the firm. Says one: "During 1925, the representative assembly under the influence of the mills managers, put into effect certain rules with reference to speeding up the work." Another: "At the meetings of the assembly the workers were all afraid to speak concerning conditions" . . . and "I know of my own knowledge of cases where persons who had complaints to bring before the Representative Assembly were told that they would lose their positions if they would do so." Still another declares: "In my four years as a member of the Representative Assembly, I recollect only a few occasions when a workman said anything at the meetings. . . . Before the meeting of the Representative Assembly the company provided the representatives with dinner, beer, cigars and other refreshments at the company's restaurant. We were then adjourned to another room and the labor manager, Mr. Reinhold, would address the assembly. In my four years of experience as a member of the assembly, I do not recollect one benefit to the workers, that arose from any of the talking which was done at these meetings."

The same job fear in the minds of the workers is suggested in the remarks of another worker. When asked why the workers had ceased to take their grievances up to their representatives he replied: "If they do they are likely to get a double envelope in two weeks." Which means they will be dropped for "agitation" on the next day.

Company Pets Fight Strike

What role has the company union played in the Passaic strike? First, none of the company union representatives, with one or two exceptions, came out on strike. Being company pets they were satisfied with their preferred position in the plant. In the second place they have been used by the company to try to get the striking workers to return to work. To effect this purpose they have been sent to the workers' homes to argue with them and threaten them. In the third place, the sweeping injunction against picketing secured by the F. & H. company was based upon a letter prepared by the management and addressed by the assembly to Julius Forstmann asking him for "protection" in returning to work, although most of them were already acting as

SPOILS AND BROILS

"King Coal has been dethroned; coal and iron probably chalked the last war to their credit when the guns began to boom in the summer of 1914. Now oil is having its day. We are living in the Oil Age, and Oil Imperialism is in the saddle. The history of the next generation or two will be read in the light of the struggle for oil."—Concluding paragraph to Louis Fischer's OIL IMPERIALISM.

"(In 1920) Washington officials began to think, talk and write like Standard Oil officials."—E. H. Davenport and S. R. Cooke in OIL TRUSTS AND ANGLO-AMERICAN RELATIONS.

"Far reaching as the political repercussions of the Anglo-Turkish settlement of the Mosul boundary dispute may be... its economic consequences hardly are less significant. A stroke of diplomatic pens relieved the fears of the oil barons and opened up a potential Utopia for the concession hunter."—Walter T. Layton, Editor of the London ECONOMIST in the NEW YORK SUN, June 12th 1926.

INTERNATIONAL affairs smell heavily of oil. The four quotations above are merely tid-bits from a long and growing literature upon the subject.

The next war will be a war over Oil. In it, the Standard (with its numerous subsidiaries tagging after it) and the (British) Royal Dutch Shell, with the Anglo-Persian and like interests in tow, will play an important role. Today they struggle all over the world to grab up all the remaining known and unknown oil reserves.

Since the Great War, the entire history of diplomacy has been a history of oil. Genoa, San Remo, the Hague, Lausanne—have all been largely given over to disputes over foreign concessions in this mighty fluid. How our State Department, particularly under the benevolent and be-whiskered reign of Mr. Hughes, hurled the defiance of the Standard at the Britishers is all set down with painstaking care in such books as those by Messrs. Davenport and Cooke and by Mr. Fischer.

It was the sole cause for the British determina-

tion to seize and hold Mosul. Finally, they got this important oil center in Mesopotamia from the Turk, by bribing him. They also, of course, had to bribe the Standard. It is a long tale, but it will pay you to look it up. The Turk gets 10 per cent of the oil royalties from the Irak field for the next 25 years. The Standard gets a 25 per cent ownership in the Turkish Petroleum Co., which is a subsidiary of the Anglo-Persian.

We ask the American workingmen: Do they intend to fight and kill their brothers in Europe, in order further to enrich the unspeakable Rockefeller-fellers? That is the way the game is going. It has all the earmarks of the struggle between the Germans and the English for the Bagdad Railway, which led to the World War. In that other struggle there were halts and concessions and agreements. But they all went to smash, under the pressure of greed. Are workingmen always to play the part of cannon fodder for these Master Robbers?

Lest these words sound extreme, we ask workingmen to read at least these two books from which we have quoted. Mr. Fischer's book is published by the International Publishers, New York, and the other book by the Macmillan Company, also of that city.

Think this thing over; its seriousness cannot be overestimated. Then, you will realize how important it is to oppose Prussianism in America, such as the Military Training Camps, recently condemned by the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor. That body took such action, knowing what the spread of Militarism means. It is the advance guard for the Rockefeller-fellers. The Military Training Camps should be known as "Standard Oil Camps". To refuse to cooperate with them is the first step against the Oil War.

scabs! In reply to this letter Mr. Forstmann replied: "I am glad that you have come to me. This latest action on the part of the Assembly confirms my confidence in the efficiency of the machinery which we have developed to deal with exactly such problems as the one we are facing today." Which is another way of saying that Mr. Forstmann considers the representative assembly an admirable instrument for strikebreaking. But up to date he has not been successful in this purpose in spite of the assistance of injunctions, riot acts, venal sheriffs, police thugery, private dicks and gunmen.

"Rally 'Round the Bosses' Scheme"

However, Mr. Forstmann and his personnel advisers have "sold the company union idea to the other mill owners. They formed a united front in proposing to the strikers on May 25th that they form "plant committees or shop councils which shall have for their purpose the promotion of mutual understanding, fair dealing and good-will"—almost the same wording as the F. & H. constitution!

Having attempted to break the strike by every known device in the catalogue of violence and lawlessness the mill owners made a last stand around the hypocritical company union device. But the workers stood firm and replied: "We don't want a sucker's union. We want a real union, a union of our own, as other workers have. Over four million workers in this country have their own unions; why can't we?"

And Albert Weisbord told a mass meeting of protest against this company union proposal: "The bosses now want to advise us on what kind of a union we should have. They want us to adopt their kind of a union—full of spies, stool pigeons and company agents. Instead we shall fight for *our* union—a union of, for and by the workers, the kind of a union that will fight the bosses—instead of bowing to their tyranny."

Thus the Passaic strike becomes a strike against the company union. It deserves the unstinted support of every organized American worker.

"40 For Furs"

Background of the Workers' Victory

By CICELY APPLEBAUM

VICTORY!

SCORE another win for the Organized Labor forces. After an intense struggle, the Furriers of New York have gained the forty-hour week. It was not secured in its entirety—for forty-four hours are still allowed in the four extra-busy months of the winter. It was not won without putting aside, for the present, other demands included in the strike crisis: such as an unemployment fund. It was accompanied, however, by the beginnings of the re-organization of the industry, which Labor will continue to push forward. Sub-contractors are to be limited in number, and also apprentices are out for two years.

It is a flaming example to the unorganized, of what can be won through effective unionization. Miss Applebaum's article, written before the issue was decided, gives the story of Why the Strike and What its winning means.

IT'S a curious thing!

The chief is sitting in his oak panelled office before his steel desk which looks like genuine mahogany, staring through the thin glass vase with its single rose and swearing softly because he can't go out to play golf for an hour. Not that he has anything to do—but one must give an example of diligence.

In walks a representative of the workers — with a horrible demand—a shorter work week. The outraged chief jumps up. "You workers think life's just a long loaf. You think men can earn without working." Laziness, shiftlessness, "devil will find mischief for idle hands to do" are the keynotes of his speech. He talks fast and well, until his watch points to five minutes of three. Righteous indignation still gleaming in his eye, he jumps up, murmuring something about "an important engagement". As he accompanies the representative of the workers out of the office, he says virtuously "You think over what I said—you can't get anywhere with so much idleness." And he walks down to his car, patting himself on the back for his virtuous good sense and stretching his toes in anticipation of a good round on the links.

It's queer, isn't it? And it happens every time. Leisure is one of those things good only for the employing class. Every time the workday gets shorter, a blow is struck against morality, for hard work is one of the highest virtues—that is, for the other fellow.

Morality is being attacked again now—and this is a monstrous blow. The workers, it seems, don't want to work on Saturdays. As if week end holidays weren't the prerogative of the Country Club set. Curiously enough, a respectable collection of labor organizations, think that the extra half day of leisure won't undermine the

foundations of society. The furriers, twelve thousand strong, every furrier in the trade in New York City, are striking this particular blow. Marching up and down the streets where they work, picketing the shops where they spend all the sunny hours, good natured despite the police raids which have brought 600 of them to the courts; determined, in spite of the length of the strike which began on February 16, to win that extra half-day of leisure. On the lapel of each of the young men and women who walk through the streets of the fur center is a "40-hour week" button which quite literally indicates their feelings in the matter. The 40-hour week will be won.

Health Vs. Greed

They are striking for health, for very life—the extra half-day of leisure is absolutely necessary for workers exposed to poisonous dusts and dyes during their working hours. They are striking for a longer period of employment. They are striking for more leisure in which to become more enlightened members of their union, their political party, their class.

The dressmakers of New York, the painters and some printers who are already working only forty hours a week cordially approve the campaign the furriers have begun. The Westchester County building trades have expressed their desire for the shorter working week. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers at their recent Toronto Convention declared their approval of it. And the movement for the forty-hour five-day week has been endorsed by President Green of the American Federation of Labor, by the New York City Central Trades and Labor Council, the State Federation of Labor of New York, California, Minnesota and Pennsylvania. Workers all over the country disagree with the employers' theory about the harmfulness of leisure for workers.

In the fur industry there can be no doubt that the theory is all wrong. For workers in an industry carried on under such unhealthy conditions must have more leisure than they do. The dust and poisons in the fur dye they come in contact with are responsible for an alarming prevalence of occupational diseases. An examination of a representative group of furriers conducted for the Furriers' Union by the Union Health Center in 1926, showed that 14.5% of the workers were suffering from bronchitis, 53.9% from acute irritations of the nose, throat, and air passages. This was an alarming increase over the condition in 1915 which were already bad enough. An examination of 542 furriers conducted then by the New York City Health Department showed 5.9% of the furriers to be suffering from bronchitis, and 29.7% from acute irritations of the nose and throat.

Longer working hours in the fur trade mean shorter

working years, also. In 1915, 10% of the workers were 50 years old or more; in 1926 only 4% of the workers were so old. In 1915, 72% were under forty years old; in 1926, 85% of the workers were young men. The fur workers are being thrown on the economic scrap heap years before their time. Before they reach fifty, with not enough money saved up to live in idleness, the workers broken in health by their trade are thrown out upon the world to earn a meager living in some occupation for which they have not been trained. Shorter hours will change that monstrous condition. Shorter hours are according to the Workers' Health Bureau "an absolute safeguard necessary to enable workers to gain a little strength to offset the effects of harmful conditions."

The furriers hope that shorter hours will help to solve another of their difficulties, a difficulty which they share with all the needle trades—unsteady employment. The work of the fur industry is concentrated in a few busy months when the workers lose health and strength working long hours under the unhealthy conditions prevalent. During the other months of the year, they are seeking work and worrying about their inability to earn any money. The seasonal fluctuation in employment in the industry is enormous. In October, 1923, for instance, 11,762 furriers were employed; by January of the next year only 6,065 had work to do. In the medical examination of the workers just concluded, 12.5% of those examined were found to be suffering from "distinct neurasthenia", a condition which may very likely be attributed to the nerve strain and worry undergone during the periods of unemployment.

The workers hope that decreasing the working hours all the year round, in the busy season as well as the dull times, will spread out the period in which employment can be procured. They hope to reduce somewhat the seasonal fluctuation in employment. If reduced working hours do bring about more regular employment, as there is reason to believe it will, the workers' health conditions should show a decided improvement, since that neurasthenic condition resulting, most likely, from worry over unemployment, would be present less frequently.

Leisure Makes Life

But more leisure is not only a material need of the fur workers. It is also their spiritual goal. Insufficient leisure bars them and their fellow workers in every industry from a cultivation of the higher things of life—from literature and art and music, from an understanding of the society in which we live, the forces that move it, and the place of the workers in it. They will have time to learn how to change that society so that all may live more happily in it. In the additional time away from the unhealthy and mentally deadening workshop, they will be able to become stronger, broader men and women, of more use to society, and more interesting to themselves. Life will be richer and more pleasurable to them and they will return the riches to life.

The furriers are determined that a forty-hour week shall come. The spirit to win shows itself clearly at every union meeting. Although their strike has been going on since February 15, there are no signs of weakening. Indeed, they have rejected peace offers of

THE BETTER 'OLE—WHICH?



Seattle Union Record

John Bull has only one alternative, although he hates to face it. It is Nationalization, the Miners' program, accompanied by a complete reorganization of the industry. It is noteworthy that Labor is setting the pace in so many instances, in hammering at the reorganization of sick industries. The I. L. G. W. U. and Furriers are examples in America, just as are the Miners in Britain.

the employers that do not meet their terms. At the end of May, for instance, the employers offered terms of settlement which did not include the 40-hour week for the whole year. The workers were absolutely unhesitating in their refusal to accept the 40-hour week for the dull months. The forty-hour week was not to be compromised.

They have rallied to their support workers from all over the country. Everywhere, workers are listening to and heeding the gospel of the shorter work-week. For workers in every industry the shorter work-week is a pleasing prospect. More leisure means more health, more steady employment, more culture. The furriers have probably begun a new movement for less work, to follow the movement for the eight-hour day, almost completely established.

The chief in his oak-panelled office is probably due to have a bad hour thinking about the disappearance of the exclusively aristocratic week-end. In self defense, he will probably have to take Friday off after this. He will mutter something about "what is this world coming to?" But the worker, planning for a two-day holiday at the end of the week, won't be paying much attention to him.

The Coming Storm in New York

A General Garment Strike for Responsibility in Industry

By MAX D. DANISH

LABOR TAKES THE LEAD

July will see a big walk-out in New York City. The entire cloak-making industry will come to a standstill. It is a unique strike—to force the re-organization of the industry. Labor takes the lead again, in demanding health in the industries in which it works. Brother Danish, editor of the organ of the I. L. G. W. U., gives the background for the struggle—an account of interest to every American trade unionist.

THE stage in the women's cloak industry in its principal manufacturing center—New York City—is set for a big storm. Slowly, for two years, both sides, the workers and the employers, have been gathering material and moral equipment for the coming conflict, and defining the issues in controversy. By the time the producing season in the more than 2,000 shops and shoplets gets into swing this summer the climax will have been reached. Unless the unexpected occurs and the employing interests in the industry concede the vital demands submitted by the workers, a clash involving 45,000 workers in a billion dollar industry will not be averted.

The labor world—and the general public—do not, as a rule, receive the news of an impending strike in the garment industry with breath-arresting surprise. For a generation, it has watched one spectacular struggle after another in the women's and men's garment trades burst forth with fierce, genuine pathos. These strikes have won for the garment workers their big organizations and have served as a melting pot into which has been poured as heterogeneous a mass of human material as ever has gone into the making of a fighting labor group. And the general strike in the garment industry appears at least to the outside public, like a fixed feature in these trades, interwoven with the industry's own growth and progress.

Seventeen years ago, in the winter of 1909, the first big strike occurred in this industry—in the waist-making branch of it, at that time a flourishing and large trade with no less than 15,000 workers employed in its shops. 1910 followed, with a huge walkout in the cloak and suit section of the industry, involving over 50,000 workers, a strike that resembled more a rebellion than an organized drive for industrial concessions. These two strikes made the union a permanent factor in the industry. In New York City, and a few years later in every women's garment center, the union, as a direct outcome of this crusade, had come to stay.

In the decade that followed, the garment workers' organization was tossed on the crest of industrial upheavals more than once. The tides and recessions of a highly seasonal industry that is so pathetically the

plaything of capricious Dame Fashion, on the one hand and of unbridled competition enlivened by catch-as-catch-can merchandising methods, on the other hand, have frequently toyed brutally with the livelihood of the workers. The ladies' garment workers' union, nevertheless, emerged from these storms intact—despite the half dozen general strikes which rocked it to the bottom from 1910 to 1921. And by the time the world war had come to its close, the union as an organizational unit—like the industry itself—had climbed to its highest apex of growth and influence.

Among its outstanding achievements during that period may be put down the firm establishment of week work in the cloak trade, a feat that for a generation seemed almost unachievable; a system of wage scales unique in all the garment trades, and above all, the right of the workers to the job in the factory, qualified only by discharge for cause, an accomplishment rarely matched in any organized trade in America.

Change in Productive Methods

For two generations the world at large has heard of the struggle of the workers in the women's apparel industry to banish the "sweat" shop from their midst. This type of shop has in the past been so closely associated with the notion of a "kitchen" or "bedroom" shop that it has become practically a synonym for it. The "sweat" shop, the unclean and filthy pest-hole where garments would be manufactured by "social" groups and family units, had been largely swept out of existence since 1910. This was due largely to the health and sanitation crusade steadfastly carried on in the New York market by the Joint Board of Sanitary Control, which owes its existence directly to the first "protocol" agreement designed and made operative in the cloak trade after the strike of 1910.

As a health-menacing factor the old-time contractor shop has all but disappeared from the cloak and dress industry. But it continued to exist in the garment-making world as a "corporation" shop (a misnomer for "cooperation" shop) and later as a "submanufacturer" shop. The big shop in the trade—and it must be kept in mind that a shop employing 100 persons is regarded in the women's wear trade as a "big" shop—has begun to retreat from the face of the industry. This started as far back as 1911. As a matter of fact, the young cloak-makers' organization, still radiant with the blush of its first victory of 1910, already undertook to drive out this "submanufacturer" by force as far back as 1913. But the effort ended in failure and had apparently little effect on his subsequent development in the industry.

The war years caused a tremendous expansion of the garment industry. Along with this went a number of

profound industrial changes, which later had a marked effect upon this industry and all but revolutionized its character. To begin with, the war and the post-war era have developed among the American garment consumers a taste for simpler and less elaborate clothes, though not necessarily less expensively made. The suit, the chief mainstay for years in the cloak trade, all but vanished from the market and its place was taken by the straight-line, little ornamented, coat. Later a variety of dress models came in, thus shifting a large portion of the work formerly made by cloakmakers to the dress trade. The immediate result of this shift, however, was the casting out of employment of thousands of cloak makers during the years of 1920-1925 and the shrinkage of the total number of men and women employed in the New York cloak market alone from the estimated 55,000 to 44,000.

These former cloakmakers have since, to a large degree become absorbed by the dress industry, which in the last few years has shown a phenomenal development. A considerable number of them, however, remained outside. And a number of those left out, have found a place in the industry as submanufacturers or contractors.

The Advent of the Jobber System

The jobber system today in the major branches of women's wear manufacturing is a business method quite apart from the general meaning of this term in any other industry or mercantile field. A hardware or furniture jobber, for instance, is a dealer who purchases outright at terms promising substantial profits the product or part of the product and who in turns sells it to the retailer or even to the smaller wholesalers. He is not a manufacturer, but distinctly a wholesaler. Not so in the garment lines. In this industry a jobber is a producer, who buys his woollens or silks from the mills, then cuts it, or sends it to be cut and made up in the factory of a subsidiary manufacturer, usually styled "submanufacturer". This latter man is entirely dependent on the jobber for payroll, credit for trimmings, and not infrequently for loft rent. To all intents and purposes, this submanufacturer, though outwardly a free agent and a "producer", is, nevertheless, nothing short of a foreman for the jobber. Save that he is encumbered with responsibilities and obligations with which the ordinary factory foreman is unfamiliar. That most of these contractors are playing the game of "boss" against brutal odds is evidenced by the fact that nearly a third are annually compelled to go out of business and drift back to the machine to rejoin a host of similar failures. Incidentally, they again join the union from which they had temporarily strayed away.

Jobber Plays "Sub" Against "Sub"

There are today in the New York market alone not less than 1,500 of these petty submanufacturers. Each employs an average of fifteen workers of the several crafts required for the making up of a garment. The jobber, the real manufacturer in the trade, with elegant show rooms on Fourth, Fifth or Seventh avenue, is ostensibly only a stockhouse merchant. He not only finds this submanufacturer arrangement suitable for his purposes,

but is quite eager to push its development to the farthest extreme. Having no contract with the workers and relieved from the burden of maintaining an "inside" shop, the jobber finds his role of clandestine manufacturer a handy avenue of escape from direct union control of work conditions in the shops of his subsidiaries. True, the union has in the past few years forced this jobber, and his association, to sign agreements obligating him to send work to union shops only. But it is, nevertheless, a fact that the jobbers have succeeded by the wholesale in violating this clause. They have defeated further every attempt of the workers' organization to bring them to book for these violations. Thus, they have made it impossible for the union to check the spread of the small non-union shop in the entire metropolitan district.

Union's Program of Industrial Reforms

It is to check this growing anarchy in the production of women's garments, that the ladies' garment workers have put forward their present program of demands. These they have been pushing in the industry for the past two and half years. This industrial program, originally framed by the General Executive Board of the I.L.G.W.U. in the fall of 1923, was first presented to the three employers' associations in the New York market in the Spring of 1924. Since then, it has been the subject matter of mediation for a special commission appointed by Governor Alfred E. Smith in June 1924. This Commission's object was to recommend a basis of understanding between the manufacturers and the workers, and specifically to avert a strike which at that time appeared imminent as a result of the employers' unwillingness to accede to the Union's demands.

Briefly the chief demands of the workers, as modified by the developments of the last two years, are as follows:

1. The limitation of the number of submanufacturers to be engaged by jobbers each season to meet their actual trade requirements. This would put a stop to the fostering of cut-throat competition between the small shop "owners" which demoralizes trade and work conditions.
2. A substantial raise in the minimum wage scales that would take into account the needs of each craft.
3. All workers employed in the industry shall be guaranteed thirty-six weeks' employment during the year or the payment of their established wages for such a period.
4. To further shorten seasons of unemployment, and for other good reasons, the Union demands a reduction of the hours of labor from 44 per week to 40 per week.
5. The right of examination of employers' books and records, to detect violations and to provide suitable penalties for such violations.
6. The establishment of an employment office under union control from which all placement and replacement of workers is to be made for the entire market.
7. No arbitrary discharge of workers under any circumstances.

This program has been the subject of discussion and investigation before the Governor's Commission for nearly two years. This Commission has since granted two other demands of the workers, namely the establish-

EDITORIAL OF THE MONTH

THE MELLON-GRUNDY GANG

TURNING a moment from the industrial field, we choose the present leading editorial from the NEW YORK WORLD of June 21st. Mellon and Grundy are the Open Shop leaders of Pennsylvania. They are the lily-white Business element. The following is a bit of their record, up to date:

So far the record of Mellon primary manipulation in Pennsylvania by and for the Better Element stands thus:

1—Expenditure, \$1,640,000, and more to hear from. More than 35,000 watch-and-warders hired in Allegheny County alone, the Mellon stronghold, at \$10 each. Secretary Mellon thinks this expenditure "as legitimate as money given to a church."

2—Grundy, champion money-raiser of the Mellon-Pepper-Fisher forces, was more interested in Fisher than in Pepper. Beidleman, rival candidate for Governor, favored the repeal of the coal tax, which yields \$25,000,000 and is "paid by the consumer." Grundy testifies that he feared that if repealed this

would be "replaced by a tax on industry"—on manufacturing, now exempt. He brought home the bacon. Fisher was nominated. The coal tax is safe. Manufacturers will not be taxed any part of that \$25,000,000.

3—Mayor Kline of Pittsburgh, who resigned a judgeship on promise of his present job by the Mellons, is reported by shorthand as threatening "cheaters" in the city service, meaning those not faithful to Mellon and Pepper in the primary, with loss of their "bread and butter". He admits using the "bread-and-butter" phrase but says he meant a city bond issue.

4—By the simple device of substituting "Green" for "Tunstall" at the bottom of a letter and "Wood" for "Green" at the top, the bright young men of the Pepper "publicity department" produced an excellent though forged letter of commendation for Fisher from the President of the American Federation of Labor, William Green—who promptly repudiated it.

ment of an unemployment insurance fund and the introduction of a sanitary union label, the "Prosanis" label. Both these reforms have now been in operation and with considerable success, for over a year. The Commission has also carried through a thoroughgoing investigation of the cloak and suit trade in the New York market. Several illuminating reports on employment periods and workers' earnings have been made public bringing out the appalling information that in the last two or three years the average period of work during of the New York cloakmakers fell below thirty hours per week and that their average annual wage amounted to a fraction above thirty dollars per week.

Final Recommendations of Commission Unacceptable

Finally, after two years of waiting, the recommendations of the mediators were submitted to the workers and the employers' groups, as a basis for the negotiation of new agreements. This final report admitted fully the viewpoint of the Union with regard to all the principal ills afflicting the women's garment making industry. It attacked the demoralizing effect of the jobber method of production and pointed out the vital importance of placing the responsibility of an employer on the jobber. But it falls woefully short, nevertheless, of meeting the most important demands made by the workers. The report attempts to do justice to the workers on two important points: in recommending a limitation of contractors to be hired by jobbers, and an increase in the minimum wage rates. But it would take away from them practically the only safeguard they have heretofore have had against arbitrary discharges, inasmuch as it would permit shop "reorganizations" by employers every year. This privilege would undoubtedly be abused in most cases, for the purpose of getting rid of active "undersirable" union men and women.

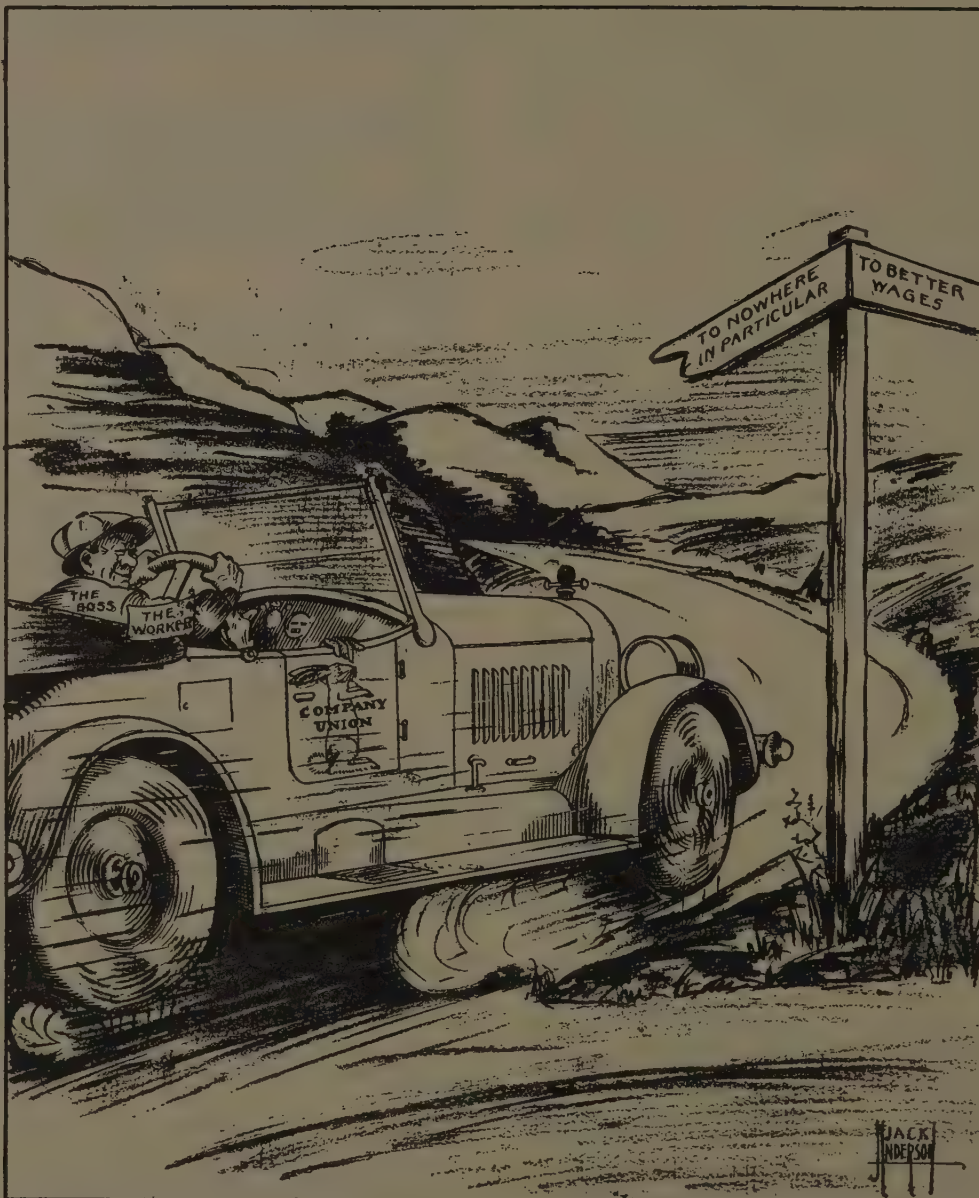
The most vital request of the workers—that they be

afforded a period of guaranteed employment during the year sufficient to enable them to earn a living and for other measures to stabilize their work—has been totally ignored. The request for a 40-hour work-week has similarly been left untouched by the Commission. Small wonder the workers, acting through their representatives, the shop chairmen, have unanimously declined to accept these recommendations as the basis for a new agreement.

Great Strike Ahead

At this moment, it is quite apparent that nothing short of a strike will settle the major differences between the workers' organization in the big cloak and suit industry and their organized employers. Eleventh hour efforts are being made by the Union to settle the controversy in conferences with the manufacturers' groups. But it is evident that these endeavors will yield nothing material.

This strike, when it comes, will not be a struggle merely for a readjustment of wage schedules and work-hours, though these matters play an important part in the life of the cloak makers. It will also be a strike for the fundamental rearrangement of production methods in this industry. It will be essentially a fight for the bringing back of the larger shop and for the fastening of a greater degree of responsibility on the jobbers for work conditions in the shops which they practically own and control: the submanufacturers shops. It will be a struggle to check the artificial fostering of an ever-growing army of irresponsible contractors, among whom the law of the jungle—cut-throat tactics and the devil take the hindmost—is the prevailing code. It will be a fight to remedy the deplorable conditions of the tens of thousands of cloak workers, the uncertainty of their work, the long periods of their general unemployment, their low earnings, and the imminent danger of a return of the disgraceful sweating system of old.



Drawn by J. F. Anderson for Labor Age.

KIDNAPPED!

What About Injunctions?

Shall We Fight Them, Use Them or Violate Them?

THE QUESTION

Here is a question facing every union. As soon as militant organizing work begins anywhere, or a strike is called, the Employers turn to their allies, the Courts. Into the meeting hall or to the home of the union workers comes the injunction server. As Mr. Hays says, the injunction is theoretically a "caviat", that is, a legal warning. But in practice it

is much more than that. What should the union or its members do when they are face to face with this "warning"? Should the union ever use this weapon? This discussion between men who have fought the injunction from different angles and in different ways will prove of help. It should be taken up in every union meeting.

Use This Weapon

By ARTHUR GARFIELD HAYS

THE theory of the injunction in labor disputes is that irreparable damage can be avoided by preventing violations of law. The order of court theoretically is a caviat. Its violation brings prompt punishment. Thus theoretically, if it has any value, it should fairly take the place of a letter from an attorney advising people what they may not do.

The trouble with injunctions is that the practice is not in accordance with the theory, that advice from the court is given after hearing one side of the proposition and is, therefore like a letter of the opposing advocate. It is further couched in such general terms that it is rarely understandable by the person addressed, and it contains menacing language which frightens the worker from exercising his just rights. Theoretically, the injunction is a valuable legal instrument and to be used by the unions as well as by the employer.

Unions Have Property Rights

The trouble is that the unions rarely use it. They contend that their rights are continually violated, yet rarely do they go into court to obtain an injunction to prevent such violation. In fact, unions might well take a leaf out of the book of employers in this regard, although laboring men know that when it comes to a violation of rights the employers are usually in the wrong. Yet in few cases in court is labor the plaintiff and practically never in a court of equity. The right of free speech and of public assemblage is a property right; the right to picket to the extent of the law is a property right; the right to be free from constant intimidation and brutal action is a property right. Probably within a few weeks of every strike these property rights are ordinarily disregarded, yet labor ordinarily does nothing about it except to defend itself in a police court.

Unions feel that recourse to courts is more or less futile, although probably there is no more effective

way of getting their position before the public than by making the complaint when their rights are violated. The public is greatly interested in the preservation of civil rights. It may have little interest in the strike. A local issue becomes national when general questions of liberty are involved. Court proceedings are a striking method of bringing these matters to public attention. The Passaic strike is an excellent example.

Suppose a union, in beginning to strike, started with a theory of taking the legal offensive. As soon as a series of menacing acts occurred, so that there would be the basis of injunctive action, application might be made to the court. It is true that one cannot enjoin the police from enforcing the law, but one can in my judgment prevent the public authorities as well as employers from going beyond the limits of the law. Not only might action of this kind be taken, but where unjust charges are made against strikers, the complaints might be carefully scrutinized and if based upon untrue allegations, charges of perjury might be made, or at least an effort might be made to present them against peace officials or other informants. Likewise, action for false imprisonment and malicious prosecution often lies. There is a vast field of affirmative action that might be taken.

Employers' Injunctions A Misuse

The complaint against injunctions obtained by employers is ordinarily justifiable because of the form of those injunctions. If they are to prevent acts which are contrary to law, such as the commission of violence, they are not necessary. If they go beyond that,—in other words, if they deprive men of doing what they have a perfect right to do, then they are unfair. If they are not clear, they constitute a menace because they frighten men into avoiding what they otherwise would do. If an injunction said in plain terms that one should not assault another or bomb his house, or poison his children,

there would be no difficulty because one knows that it is contrary to law to do these things anyhow. But the suggestive words of an injunction are intimidating and the method and purpose of its use is obviously to prevent trial by jury. The misuse has become such a perversion of the intended purpose, that they should rarely if ever be issued.

But so long as it is a legal weapon, it should be made

a two-edged sword. Possibly such use or agitation along this line would do more to do away with injunctions in labor disputes than all the propaganda against the use of injunction by employers. If injunctions were generally denied to labor under those circumstances, the public would see the unfairness of the present situation and demand the use of that remedy to grant it either to both or to neither.

Violate Anti-Union Injunctions!

By VAN BITTNER

IF the courts issue injunctions in violation of the Constitution of the United States and in violation of the laws of the United States and in violation of the constitution and laws of West Virginia, then it shall be the purpose of the United Mine Workers of America to violate such injunctions and comply with the laws of our country. This is the position of every real American and does not breed contempt for law and order but is the very essence of obedience to law.

Many years ago, when the non-union coal operators decided to use the administrative powers of the Government of West Virginia to keep the coal miners in bondage, it was the policy to have the Governor of the state declare martial law and thus rob the miners and the officials of the United Mine Workers of America of a trial by jury by having their rights determined by a military tribunal. In 1913, a committee representing the United States Senate decided that the policy of the coal operators using the state military tribunals and depriving the miners of the right to trial by jury in the civil courts, was unconstitutional and un-American.

Since that time it would not be extravagant to say that hundreds of injunctions have been issued against the officers and members of the United Mine Workers of America by the courts in the coal producing counties of West Virginia. These injunctions embrace every field of activity of the miners in their attempt to organize and become members of the United Mine Workers of America.

The most significant destruction of the rights of American citizens contained in these injunctions is that which prohibits officers and members of the Miners' Union from attempting to persuade the non-union miners to join the organization. In other words, injunctions are issued that prevent any attempt to persuade the non-union miners to join the union and, if this restraining order is violated by asserting our rights of free speech, our people are immediately haled into court and sentenced for contempt.

Farmington and Monongah

As an illustration of the tremendous power assumed by the courts in their attempted destruction of American liberties, we may cite a case where an officer of the United Mine Workers of America made a speech at Farmington, West Virginia, stating that the time would come when every mine in West Virginia would be organized

under the banner of the United Mine Workers of America, and then was taken before the Federal Court to answer contempt proceedings with nothing else charged except the making of this speech.

Another case in point was in Marion County, West Virginia, where the Sheriff of the county and the members of the State Police force were stationed at Monogah where the miners were attempting to prevent the Consolidation Coal Company from abrogating its wage agreement. The miners were picketing the mines in conformity with the State law and, during several months that this picketing was carried on not a single arrest was made by either the Sheriff or the State Police, notwithstanding these officers were continuously on the ground, thus proving beyond question of doubt that the miners were not violating the law. However, the attorneys for the Consolidation Coal Company went into court and secured an injunction preventing the miners from picketing at the mines of this company which had abrogated its wage agreement.

Again in Monongahelia County, in certain districts the miners were successful in electing justices of the peace and constables who were giving them a fair deal and impartially enforcing the law. Yet we were confronted by the attorneys for non-union coal companies securing an injunction which prevented these elected law officers from functioning in any dispute between union miners and these non-union coal companies.

Violate Injunctions!

These are just a few of the injunctions that have been issued at the behest of the non-union coal operators in the miners' fight in Northern West Virginia, where the coal operators have abrogated their wage agreement and locked out the miners. Any well-thinking, fair-minded man must concede that if there is any equity involved in this industrial dispute it is on the side of the miner and his family. It must be admitted that it is a plain violation of the laws of our country to abrogate wage agreements. With these facts before us, we are confronted with the un-American position of the courts in issuing injunctions that set aside the right of trial by jury for our people and assist the coal operators in their scheme of abrogating their wage agreements with the miners.

The American people have finally decided that in

contempt proceedings in the Federal Courts the accused must have the right of trial by jury. The coal operators in West Virginia are now using the State courts to give them the injunction where the right to trial by jury is still denied.

With these conditions confronting us, there can only be one position for a real American to take and that is to comply with the laws of the state and nation. The

man or men who set aside the provisions of the constitution of the United States, the fountain head of our Government from which all laws must flow, are the real enemies of American institutions. They are the anarchists. Organized labor, which insists that the constitution and laws of our country must be observed, is the protector of the traditions of our forefathers. They are the real Americans.

Fight Them Intelligently

By JOHN F. GATELEE

AS yet, no Moses has appeared to lead us forth from the jungle-land of the injunction. And in truth, it would seem that not a Moses, but the great Miracle-Maker Himself would be needed to extricate us from the entanglements we have suffered to grow upon us.

In my humble opinion, the oppressive use of the injunction in labor disputes, and the great mass of unfavorable precedent which labor has allowed to accumulate in equity jurisprudence, can be traced directly to the manner in which the courageous pronouncements of Samuel Gompers on the subject have been received and applied by union labor.

Mr. Gompers' advice to labor was to ignore the injunction; to refuse to recognize the usurpation by the courts of equity, in their assumption of jurisdiction over labor disputes.

Now, the great error seems to have been this: Organized labor did very generally ignore the *suit* for an injunction. But when the injunction was actually issued and the workers were drastically and unjustly restrained from prosecuting their side of a dispute, the great majority of the unions meekly *obeyed* the mandates of the courts and complied with the terms of the restraining orders.

In thus only partially obeying the instructions of Mr. Gompers, the unions of workers first walked without resistance to the scene of slaughter and then calmly allowed themselves to be slaughtered.

It was Gompers' opinion that if labor totally ignored the injunction mandate as well as the suit itself, it would place the courts in the very embarrassing position of having to place hundreds and thousands of workers in jail for disobeying judicial decrees which the workers maintained were issued without authority of law.

Gompers Advice Not Taken

In thus erring in his estimation of the courage and resistance of the rank and file of organized labor, Gompers himself laid the foundation for the great mass of unresisted precedent which hedges in and renders futile, the routine efforts of labor to prevail in trade disputes.

I say this, not as a reflection on Samuel Gompers, who had the high courage of his own convictions, but rather as a sad commentary on the lack of a sacrificial spirit on the part of large groups of organized workers.

In recent years, labor has come to realize its own

reluctance to ignore court mandates. It has adopted the policy of vigorously combatting the suits of injunction before the courts.

In this new policy we are handicapped by two problems; one that of finances to employ the right type of lawyer, and the other the almost insurmountable difficulty of dodging guiding precedents on which the courts base their future decisions.

Both of these things are of great importance. For, it requires a lawyer of long experience and great skill to handle a labor suit in equity, and lawyers having those requirements are usually very high priced or are so situated that they cannot or will not engage in defense of labor.

The precedents existing against labor are so enveloping that tremendous research must be made to avoid getting into well-blazed pathways leading to complete destruction.

To tell the truth, labor has suffered as much in equity, through the mediocrity of its own attorneys as from any other single cause.

Just a word about the pitfalls and ever-recurring obstacles that invariably confront labor in equity, particularly in the Massachusetts Courts.

Judges Favor Employers

In the first place we are faced with the fact that equity judges have a well-established conviction that the property rights of an employer are more to be considered and protected than the personal rights of an employee. Where these two rights come into conflict it is the tendency of the Court to favor the property right of the employer and subjugate the personal right of the employee.

To illustrate, an employer might refuse to employ union labor, and we might place that information on a card and distribute it. But if the court finds as a fact, that our object in distributing the card was to force the employer to hire members of our union, he will enjoin us from distributing the cards containing the truth about the employer. Because, the Court reasons, the employers' right to hire whom he pleases is greater than our right to tell the public that he discriminates against union labor. Therefore, we must cease spreading the truth about the employer, else the court will send us to jail.

There are many other illustrations of the leanings

of the judges towards capital and away from labor but this will suffice in this short article.

The next great obstacle to labor's obtaining justice in courts of equity is the great discretionary powers invested in equity judges. In making many important decisions, the judge rules in his discretion and not as a matter of law, and rulings of the court made in his discretion cannot be appealed from. Of course, this procedure bears out the original theory of equity jurisprudence. But equity practice was never originated or intended to be exercised over trades disputes between employers and employees.

The opportunity for unjust discrimination in the application of discretion rather than law in determining issues in these cases is to say the least, very disturbing. The great issues and momentous consequences of decisions in labor disputes are an argument against the exercise of discretion in these cases.

In order to bring these labor cases in under the jurisdiction of courts of equity, unwarranted and fictional allegations are made in the bills of complaint. The labor union is charged with conspiracy; and irreparable damage is alleged. As a matter of fact, conspiracy is seldom if ever proven and the irreparable damage issue is a mere flight of fancy. In such manner, fraud and deceit are practised upon the court by the employer and does extreme violence to one of equity's most cherished principles: namely, "He who seeks equity must do equity."

Perjury and Trickery Supreme

The matter now becomes a game of skill between rival attorneys, the proceedings are permeated with trickery, perjury and suppression of facts and the theory that "equity accords justice to the injured innocent," degenerates into a mere play of words.

The employers' lawyer is influential and adroit. He proves his case by the constitution and by-laws of the unions and the irresponsible statements and admissions of members who don't even know what are the functions or purposes of their own union.

The defendant's case is either poorly prepared or not prepared at all. His lawyers blunder into traps and flounder helplessly around. The lawyer for the plaintiff argues his case from the law; the defendant's lawyer treat their clients to a great burst of oratory minus the law. And the judge smugly decides against labor and invites the employers' lawyer to write his own ticket.

This is not always the case, but it occurs often enough to be considered the rule and not the exception.

Probably the greatest basic present-day factor in labor's lack of success in the courts of equity is its own colossal ignorance.

Labor's failure to educate itself on the subject of injunctions, their causes and effects, and how they may best be avoided, is mainly responsible for their present serious predicament.

You cannot cure cancer by ignoring it, nor can you cause it to disappear by railing at it. The cancerous injunctive evil which is eating into our vitals, must be studied, diagnosed and treated intelligently.

Although the *winning* of injunction suits by labor, means practically nothing in the attaining of our objec-

tives, the *losing* of these suits means disruption, disaster and oftentimes destruction.

We must fight them and we must win them.

We must make the use of the injunction in labor ineffective in the hands of the employer.

Education and a Bureau Needed

This can only be brought about by education—by interchanging with each other, the experiences we undergo in our defense of these actions. We must so fit our leaders that they can correctly appraise the services rendered by attorneys representing us, and order and direct the line of defense to be employed. We must know how to write our constitutions and by-laws so that they will not be in direct conflict with the laws and decisions of the courts. We must keep tabs on the judges trying these actions, avoid the tough one—court the fair ones. We must not precipitate a strike until we have arranged the causes of our action on as tangible legal grounds as possible. We must develop attorneys who will serve us with fidelity—we must arrange to pay them promptly and well. We must reward their success in our behalf by bestowing our individual patronage upon them. We must arrange to finance these actions in an adequate manner. We must not appeal to Supreme Court those cases which are hopelessly lost, as we thus establish precedents which govern in all future actions of similar circumstances.

We must be alert, aggressive, unafraid and persistent. We must not hesitate to condemn in mass-meeting any rotten decrees issued by particularly hostile judges. We must not compromise a principle or concede by a stipulation any rights or privileges which we consider as our due. We must constantly besiege the legislature in the various states for legislation restricting the courts of equity in their jurisdiction over labor. We should fight life tenure in office of appointed judges.

Even in the face of the drastic decrees now issued by the courts, we must continue to appeal to the rank and file of organized labor to boycott and to refuse to enter the employ of those employers who are unfair to labor.

In summation, I would say that we suffer in our contacts with equity: first, from our own ignorance; second, from the inefficiency of our attorneys; third, from the inadequacy of equity itself; fourth, from bias of the judges, and fifth, from the precedents operating against us.

When one surveys the field of equity and realizes that the present and future decisions are based upon past decisions established as precedents and further that any changes in the administration of the law on the part of the judges themselves will necessarily be by a process of slow and gradual evolution, one despairs of accomplishing anything by this process.

It would be well for labor to give long and serious consideration to the proposition of establishing an active bureau. This should be manned with high-grade legal talent, having powers of supervision over suits of injunction brought against labor in the courts of equity, and dispensing advice to less experienced attorneys in actual charge of the litigation.

Labor Banking---Promise or Menace?

Rebuttal of Anderson and Coyle

Labor Banks Essential to Freedom

By ALBERT F. COYLE

THE previous article on Labor Cooperative Banks showed why credit is the most important power in the modern world, determining which workers shall eat and which workers shall starve, what industries shall prosper and what industries shall fail. The question for you to decide is whether this tremendous power shall be manipulated by a small group of bankers, usually hostile to labor, or whether the workers themselves shall control it to create a better life for themselves and their children.

We have seen that labor cooperative banks in the United States have met a real need, as proved by their remarkable growth during the past five years. No other institutions ever started by American labor have achieved such power or amassed such resources in as brief a period of time.

In the previous article we saw why labor cooperative banks are absolutely essential if the workers are ever to be anything more than hired hands. It is nonsense to talk about industrial democracy until labor controls credit, without which the achievement of industrial democracy is impossible. This is not a matter of theory, but of fact: The great steps that European and Mexican labor have taken toward industrial democracy have been realized only because the workers had mobilized their money and credit power to finance their own enterprises.

Brother Anderson admits that cooperative banks are safe, that there is no question about their stability. More than that, we saw in the previous article that they are far safer than private profit banks, because they do not take speculative risks.

We are also agreed that all big labor unions are in the banking business, whether they want to be or not. All of them have millions of dollars in their protective and insurance funds that have to be wisely and safely invested. And by harsh experience these unions have found it far better to handle their funds through their own banks than to intrust them to private bankers allied with labor's enemies. It is suggested that labor unions might tie up their strike funds so that they could not be easily withdrawn from their banks in time of need. On the contrary, labor banks keep their investments far more liquid and mobile than do any other kind of banks in the country. They do it not only as a matter of precaution for their own sakes, but also as a safe practise for the accommodation of their depositors.

Money Power Wins Strikes

Brother Anderson also agrees with me that cooperative banking has not prevented unions from striking. The

Amalgamated Clothing Workers has undertaken and won some of the biggest strikes in its history since it started its cooperative banks. The B. of L. E. is also energetically prosecuting four or five important strikes. The unions that can not afford to start a bank do not dare to strike, since they lack the resources to see a strike through. At the same time, I know of cases where unions have gained favorable settlements from hard-boiled employers because they mobilized their members' financial strength in their own banks and had achieved a powerful prestige throughout the country by reason of their successful banking activities. These are the factors that win important victories without striking, since employers know these unions command the resources to wage a successful strike if necessary.

While Brother Anderson agrees that the unions with large banking interests are not afraid to strike, he illogically advances the argument that labor banks obstruct the class struggle, make unions leaders conservative, and turn the workers into capitalists. Of course, the aggressive strike record of these very unions disproves the suggestion. The man with a real stake in his industry and his community is the one who will fight most readily to protect and promote his interests.

Brother Anderson is right in stating that *certain* union leaders engaged in cooperative banking have become very conservative. But this is by no means due to cooperative banking. Men of this type have always existed in the labor movement. How many labor leaders of ten or twenty years ago, who never dreamed of cooperative banking, became so conservative that they completely lost their usefulness, or in certain cases actually went over to the employers' side. The fact is that some of the most radical labor leaders in Europe, including Russia, are devout believers in labor banking. They would laugh at you if you called them capitalists, since the very purpose of cooperative banking is to break down private-profit capitalism. When capital becomes socialized through democratic control, it is no longer the slave-driver but the servant of the community.

Does cooperative banking distract the labor leader's attention from his other "union" duties? No more than do such admittedly beneficial union activities as insurance, education, health, technical information departments, etc. Just as in these activities, the union hires experts to do the real work, and the union leaders lay down the policies to be followed. *The important question is whether cooperative banking is really helpful to the members of the unions, and this can not be decided by the opinion of Brother Anderson or myself, but by*

the members of the unions concerned. The vast majority of these union members have enthusiastically registered their approval of cooperative banking at every convention of their respective organizations.

A Horrible Example

It is true that certain rogues have taken advantage of the popularity of labor cooperative banks to promote fake enterprises disguised as the real thing. But this, again, is no fault of cooperative banking. Such rogues have always existed, and have always devised schemes to separate ignorant workers from their savings. The genuine labor banks have been the first to detect and expose their schemes, and have saved untold millions of dollars for American workers by educating them to invest their savings in absolutely safe public securities.

A horrible example is made of the failure of the Producers & Consumers Bank of Philadelphia. But this never was a cooperative bank. Despite the repeated warnings of the All American Cooperative Commission and the Cooperative League of the United States, this bank was set up unsoundly, and the unions concerned refused to carry out the advice given them. They and not cooperative banking were to blame. *It is still true that not one genuine cooperative bank has ever failed in the United States—a finer record than private-profit banks can show.*

Finally, we are told that the employees of cooperative banks are unorganized. I remember when the late Warren S. Stone invited the employees of the B. of L. E. Cooperative National Bank in Cleveland to organize. None of them were interested, because they were getting better pay and better treatment than were the employees of the other banks in the city. Since that time the employees in several of the largest labor banks have organized—always with the full encouragement of the officers of the

bank. Where else in the United States have bank officers encourage their employees to unionize?

The Backbone of a Cooperative Movement

For eighty years the workers of Europe have been organizing cooperative labor banks. Instead of making labor "capitalistic" and contented, these banks have developed in the workers a consciousness of their tremendous united power, enabling them to build up their craft organizations, take over and operate their own industries, and raise their standard of living by founding all kinds of consumers' cooperative enterprises. The labor bank in Europe is, in fact, the founder and financier of thousands of cooperative societies. Two large labor banks are already encouraging a similar development of the cooperative movement in this country. Labor banking, in brief, not only aids the worker as a producer, but also helps him cut his cost of living as a consumer.

Alleged Evils are Superficial

The labor cooperative banks in this country are not perfect. For one thing they are human institutions, and they are also less than six years old. They have made some mistakes, and doubtless will make more. But none of the abuses mentioned by Brother Anderson are essential to labor banking. The wrong kind of men will make the wrong kind of use of the best and holiest institutions. For instance, I have before me an employers' magazine that condemns labor unions because some union men and union leaders are crooked. I do not regard a trade union as a narrow, limited, moss-backed organization. The union has a right to undertake anything, that can increase the happiness, welfare, and prosperity of its members and their fellow-workers. Tested by this standard, labor cooperative banking has made good.

Our Banks Are Not Cooperative

By J. F. ANDERSON

MR. CHAIRMAN, I rise to a point of order. We are debating the question of labor banks as they are conducted here in the United States, along regular capitalist banking lines. Friend Coyle dwells upon cooperative banking, particularly as carried on in Europe—which is a different matter.

I do not condemn real cooperative banking, rightly conducted. But my point is, that our labor banks are not conducted along cooperative lines, and have little of the spirit of cooperation in them. That is the chief reason why they are dangerous to the Movement.

Our labor banks accept the same depositors as do Capital's banks. Their promoters go after money for deposits like any other bank. In that way they tie up with anti-union concerns, in many instances. Let me cite the case of the labor bank in Pittsburg. The President of that institution, a supposed labor leader, was accused of being a labor spy and detective for labor crushing

agencies. He was tried, convicted and ousted from the Central Trades and Labor Union there. And yet, the directors of the labor bank protected him, because he had secured some of the biggest depositors—all non-union concerns.

In the cooperative banks of Europe that could hardly have taken place. For non-union concerns would never be allowed to deposit money with these banks, in the first place. Only unions, friendly societies (i. e., fraternal organizations), and individuals connected with the cooperative movement could make such deposits.

The 65,000 banks referred to by my opponent are not like our banks. What are they like?

Real Cooperatives and Ours

They are mostly small institutions, close to the workers and reaching the workers directly. In the case of the large Cooperative Bank in England, which is run by the Cooperative Wholesale Society, little branch

banks are conducted in each of the stores of the cooperatives. There is no large institution miles away from the workers. It is right in their midst, a small affair—a window in the cooperative store. The bank in which the International Association of Machinists is interested, in Washington, can be of little aid or comfort to the machinist out in Kalamazoo or Winnipeg or Olympia. He may possibly point to it with pride, but that won't help him, either as an individual or as a union man.

The principles of the real cooperative banks are: 1. One shareholder, one vote—making it an intimate and democratic thing; 2. Depositors to share in profits; 3. Strict limitation of the amount of dividends. Banks in America cannot apply the first rule right now. Our laws won't let them. The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers Bank in Cleveland has applied the last two and has made an effort to be cooperative. But its very size prevents it from being the help to the individual worker that a cooperative labor bank should be.

Few other labor banks make much effort at this ideal. Even if we could see signs of their going in a cooperative direction, there would be some hope in them. But they are moving in the other direction, it seems to me. Take the Federation Bank in New York City. It started out with only one of these principles in its by-laws: it restricted dividends to 10 per cent, which was pretty high at that. But recently it even threw over that restriction, when it re-organized as the Federation Bank and Trust Company. It is, therefore, moving toward becoming a regular capitalistic banking institution.

"Profits, profits, profits" will be the cry in time—and not service to the workers.

Finance Control Illusory

About controlling the bulk of the nation's finance through labor banks: That is even more uncertain than controlling the industrial situation itself. We know what we could do if all the workers, or the great majority of them, were organized in our unions. But no one is, as yet, succeeding in this work. We can't even get all the American workers to meet in our labor temples. Nor can we get all of them to put their money in Labor's basket.

Suppose, however, the workers did put all their money in labor banks. Is there any proof that we would be any better off than our brothers in Great Britain, who have to strike for their rights the same as we? Their cooperatives undoubtedly help them at such times;

but let us not expect too much, even of cooperative banking.

Friend Coyle suggests that most private banks are hostile to the unions. That is true. But that is also true of most big depositors in our labor banks—and big depositors have the same influence with banks that big advertisers have with newspapers. How many labor banks have even thought of unionism enough to run strictly union shops? They boast of directors who are members of Organized Labor, when most of the clerks in most of the banks are non-union. Even some of the banks would probably fight unionization, and only a boycott could bring them to time. So far have they gotten away from union principles.

The possession of money by a union will undoubtedly make some of them more likely to sanction strikes. But strikes are not won with money alone. They are won with union men and women. Records will show that most of the deserters from the union ranks are among members who were best able to remain on strike. My experience has been that it is more trouble to keep the property owner on strike than the non-owner. Neither are the heavy property owners the backbone of the unions. I am not arguing that the workers should be paupers. But I do say that their attention should not be distracted by banking from the real union fight. Neither should banking be so conducted as to hamper the unions in their services to the workers, by hamstringing them with anti-union connections and alliances. When labor banks go in for ordinary banking methods, they eventually do this very thing.

Make Our Enterprises Really Cooperative

We should not take the timid attitude that Labor has no right to go into business. It has the right to do that, as well as to do many other things. But let it be business that actually helps to give new spirit to the rank and file, that aids them to better their conditions through bettering them individually in time of difficulty and in bettering their unions. Friend Coyle has all the figures on banking; but I have the pulse of the workers. They want cooperative enterprises established. But they want them run along correct lines, that will actually be sound and at the same time helpful to them and the Movement. Our labor banks, started largely along profit-making lines, and becoming more and more profit-making institutions with one or two exceptions, are not meeting the need. They are rather making the workers less effective fighters for their own cause.

AN ANNOUNCEMENT AND A CORRECTION

WITH the rebuttal, the Labor Banking discussion does not end. We propose to run shortly the opinions of a number of labor men and students of labor problems on the debate and on the subject of Labor Banking in general. What do you think of it? Let us have your opinion.

That is the announcement. The correction deals with the same subject. To err is human, to forgive divine. We hope that you will demonstrate the divine in you, Dear Reader, by forgiving an error in

regard to Brother Anderson appearing in our June issue. We stated that he was a recent candidate for the presidency of the Machinists' Union on "an anti-Labor Banking platform". This was not accurate. Candidate he was, but his view was and is that Labor Banking should be run on a "real cooperative basis". Brother Coyle and he have given us a treat—and we all ought now to have some definite opinions about the matter. Is Labor Banking a Promise or Menace to Our Movement? Now, You can have your say!

"Goldilocks" Revised

What Should Good Capitalist Children Read?

By YAFFLE

WHAT shall we let our children read?

The subject was brought to my mind by a report of a lecture on Children's books, read to the National Society of Day Nurseries recently by Miss Alice Jackson, M.A. Most books came in for rough handling. Stories of the Bluebeard type, the lecturer said, were bad. So were those in which poor girls received extraordinary devotion and countless material gifts from admirers who expected nothing in return. "Lord Fauntleroy" was also turned down because it "revealed a mother-complex and the regressive idea of a child who was afraid to grow up." If I remember rightly it also revealed a very uncomfortable style of collar and a dangerous way of dressing the hair. The danger, however, may be turned to some account; for I know two men who have developed into two of the most useful middle-weights in Tottenham, and attribute their skill entirely to the fact that their mother insisted on sending them to school with their hair in "Fauntleroy" ringlets so that life was one long self-defence. But no one wears them now and the book is nearly out of print, so let's get on with it.

Now it is imperative that children should only read books that do them good. All we have to settle is what is a good child and what books make it get like that.

It is a matter that presents some difficulties, for if you decide what a good child is, you are in danger of meeting one, in which case you would have to run round for the doctor. I feel, however, that the question can be settled if we apply our minds to it. But I don't think I'll do it now. The fact is that at the moment I am sitting in the sun looking at the Atlantic and find myself strangely indifferent to spots on the juvenile soul. We all have our moments of back-sliding, and although I started out this morning with the earnest intention of deciding what to allow children to read, I have surprised myself by an involuntary desire to let them read what they like. It is a pity; I hoped I was made of sterner stuff. I will try and take the matter up more seriously when the sun goes in.

Besides, there is nothing to complain of in this village. The only child who has consulted me about literature this morning showed a laudable desire to absorb useful information and was pleased when I was able to show him, on the authority of Messrs. W. D. and H. D. Wills, how a heron feeds her young.

Besides, my position is a little compromised at the moment by the book I have with me. For, purely in the interests of education I am reading "The Deadly Three", just to satisfy my mind that it is fit for children; and I feel that if a committee of Child Welfare or Educational experts were to approach me for advice at the moment, circumstantial evidence would weaken my authority. They would never believe that I brought the book in a

spirit of Scientific Enquiry. That, however, is not the only reason why I do not want any committee to approach me on this particular day.

Meantime, one cannot over-emphasize the far-reaching effect of books upon a child at the period when the mind is receptive and sensitive to every influence.

Most great men can testify to the value of their early reading. I can, for one. I owe a great deal to the fact that in my infancy the authorities were careful to keep harmful books out of sight. Books like "Tom Jones", and "Strangler Sam", for instance were locked in the attic; and the steadiness of nerve and suppleness of limb I gained at an early age by climbing day after day up the drain pipe into the attic window have been of great benefit to me ever since.

We shall all agree, of course, that the kind of literature mentioned by the lecturer are bad, notably that about girls who receive countless material gifts from admirers who expect nothing in return. The only difficulty is that we should have to do away with so many books, and most of the newspapers. For I observe that a section of nearly every daily paper is devoted to accounts of how certain girls, generally termed society, are continually having gifts, such as jewellery, furs and motor car bestowed upon them by admirers, usually called the Working Class, who appear to expect nothing in return. At least, nothing to speak of.

Then, too, we should have to abolish many of the old nursery rhymes. These is one, particularly, I recall—

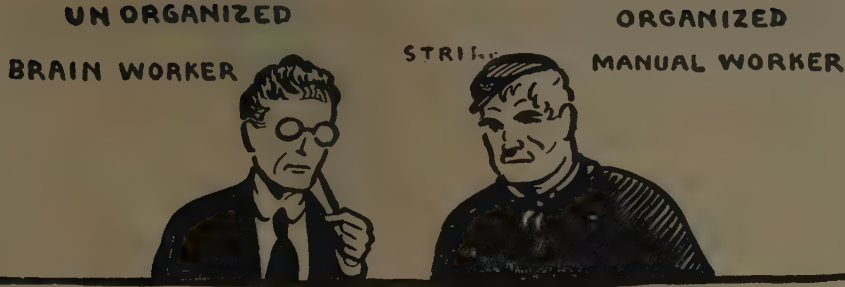
"Goldilocks, goldilocks, wilt thou be mine?

Thou shalt not wash dishes nor yet feed the swine."
—which seems to be a mere incitement to young ladies to be social parasites, particularly when you refer to its revised version—

"Goldilocks' father he owned a big mine
And large blocks of shares in a big railway line.
So she said, as she rang for a bottle of wine,
These miners and railmen are all lazy swine."

We have to be all the more careful in these days, when the modern child reacts so readily to the care which is being taken of his mind. I know a child who displays astonishing discernment in his reading. As I am a literary man, or, nobler still, a journalist, he always asks my advice as to what to read. I was therefore very much surprised to find him reading "Sexton Blake", because I thought I had the only copy in— I mean, because my advice was different from that. But he said, "Well, you see, I have been reading heavily of late and wish to give my mind a rest. This stuff"— and he indicated "The Mystery of the Severed Thumb"— "requires no effort of imagination and engenders no excitement because the action and characterization being stereotyped

WHO HAS THE BRAINS ANYWAY?



A STIFF collar is no more a sign of economic independence than a stiff hat is a sign of brains.

The stiff collar is a heavy halter for most men in the technical trades. They are poorly paid. Frequently, they are severely exploited. And certain ones of them—particularly in the engineering business—are forced to resort to the cheapest form of prostitution. This applies to both employers and employees in engineering.

Railroad engineers are forced to report what their financial bosses want them to say, no matter what the facts may be. In valuations they are merely the slaves of the utility companies. As an example: Mr. James E. Allison of St. Louis is a leading member of his profession. He secured fame and paved his way to fortune by taking the public side in the local United Railways valuation years ago. Yet, afterwards, as an employee of the utilities themselves, he turned his back on all his previous work and made himself logically ridiculous. We could give many other names, dates and places on this score.

If the bigger fish in the pool are caught thusly, it is much worse with the little suckers. They are not only prostituted, but they don't get anything for it. Recently, the magazine published by the American Society of Mechanical Engineers held up the wages paid in the University of Pennsylvania as a horrible example of this fact. In the utilities, the men are falling behind all the time, in comparison to the cost of living. On that basis, they fail to get what they got back in 1903. Compare that, with the rise in the organized building trades—from \$2.75 a day in 1903 for composition roofers to \$11.50 per day in 1926, and from \$3.80 a day for certain carpenters to \$12 per day (in New York)—and the moral is self-evident.

The technical men must organize. They must forget their stiff collars and join hands with their "manual" laboring brethren. The Union of Technical Men is beginning a new drive among them. Priding themselves on being brain workers, we advise that in regard to their economic conditions they also use their brains.

one always knows what is going to happen. The result is complete mental inactivity. Besides, its very crudity amuses me."

But you must remember that this strict censorship of your child's reading may lead to awkward situations. I know a child whose parents forbade it to read stories based on the aggrandisement of brute force or any other anti-social attributes. The result was that when, during a history lesson, the teacher was recounting the story of how our great Indian Empire was founded, the child walked out saying, "My parents would not wish me to hear how men of criminal tendencies indulged their proclivities at the expense of their weaker brethren."

On another occasion, when the Squire presented a field-gun to the school, and was telling the children about the glorious battle of the Somme, the child again walked out saying, "I have been taught to avoid stories in which virtue is made of revolting homicide."

The teacher, however, vented his embarrassment by chastising the child. Consequently the child's father called upon the teacher, and the interview was interesting in that the teacher, who had attained a certain skill, owing to practice upon his scholars, with his right hand, could do little with his left. This gave the father an advantage. Leading off with a half-hook to the body, which the teacher parried, he swung his—but you don't

want to hear about that. The great thing is to be careful what the children read.

And now perhaps I can get on with my book.



Labor History in the Making

By THE MANAGING EDITOR

IN THE U. S. A.

GLORIOUS FIGHTING AHEAD

LET us go and do some of the things we can't do.

That advice, given by Michael Moon in one of Chesterton's books, is good advice. It is much better than much of the sighing and whining that issues forth from some of our intellectual Cassandras in their Ivory Towers, looking down on the workers from lofty heights, in pitying contempt that sweat and grime go with hard labor. Shaking their heads and wringing their hands, they bewail the "stupidity" of the workers, the "conservatism" of the workers, the "backwardness" of the workers—and yet, are never seen to go forth themselves to get their noodles smashed on the picket lines. It is much better than the exhibition given by some labor men, in returning thanks to the Chambers of Commerce, from whom all blessings flow, for having deigned to allow unionism to exist in this or that small instance.

A plague upon both such evidences of mental and moral paralysis! "To the Devil," we say, "with all your long-winded long-facedness. We want nothing of it. To the Devil with all your smirking before Chambers of Commerce and other rotten High-and-Mighties. We want nothing of that. What we want is hot action, not lukewarm wind."

The test of the Labor Movement is not in some quiet professorial retreat in a middle-class suburb. It is not in the smiles which some Hon. Bilius Billion may cast upon the workers, as he rushes to his favorite golf-links and hootch-cache. The test of the Labor Movement is at the factory gates, where the horde of workers come pell-mell from their unpleasant labors. The test of the Movement is back in the shop and mill, to be measured by the amount of organized discontent it has brewed up among the toilers.

The test of the Movement is in doing the things "that can't be done."

When you get close to an "impossible" job, you find that it is quite possible of accomplishment. Close inspection of Company Unionism indicates that it is a House of Cards. A little more Fire and Fanaticism in union methods will burn its Fraud and Fakery to the ground. If a hand-full of "irresponsible agitators", as they have been called, can stir 12,000 workers to revolt at Passaic; if a mere lone labor editor, with a few bundles of his publication under his arm, can frighten the powerful oil companies into granting concessions to their men in Bayonne, then we are in for a merry time of it when others get out and face the waiting workers in like fashion.

President Green of the A. F. of L. has made a productive suggestion, that the organizers of that body should check up every day on what they have actually done. Not in mere efforts, we take it, but in results accomplished. Not in mere men seen or meetings attended, but in actual revolt stirred up in unorganized industries. Not in mere wages and hours preached, but in contempt for courts inculcated, and in indifference to cops taught. Organization can only be won when the workers know that the courts are merely worn-out old men, or worn-out young men, with limited brains and a pimp-like devotion to Big Business. Organization can only be won when these same workers understand that the cops are largely the servants of the servants of Big Business—only too often usurping power.

Fear is the bitter foe of freedom. For the men in the Movement who have no fears of the strumpets in high places, there is glorious fighting ahead. Events are shaping up in that direction.

CREDIT UNIONS AND COMPANY UNIONS

MEN who dig pits for others may themselves fall into the pits thus dug. But sometimes it takes quite a while for them to stumble around and do the tumbling.

The devious devices of the American Employing Class to set snares for their unwary employees can be met by our Labor Movement—and must be met. But wishing for it merely will not bring this much desired result to pass.

Among the numerous developments by which the employers hope to set up stones for their workers to fall

over and break their necks is the company credit union. It relieves the worker of the spectre of the loan shark. It makes him feel a bit more secure, in that he can get money without great security at almost any time and for almost any occasion. But the company credit union, run by the company, delivers the worker, to a degree at least, into the hands of the company itself. It ties him up on his wage demands. It takes out the sting of militancy, without which he will get nothing.

Employers realize this so much that they are pushing these credit unions in numerous places. In New Jersey—home of the Standard Oil and of bleak conditions for the workers—the big boys have gone so far as to have

the credit union law so framed that only employees of the same company can form such a union or belong to it, in any particular instance. Of course, that shuts out labor unions from forming credit unions from members of the same craft or industry. Other state laws on the subject are defective in one way or another, from a democratic viewpoint. They must be changed.

It is up to the labor forces to change these laws. It is also up to them to form credit unions of their own, wherever possible and perhaps wherever impossible. Information on forming such union and on model credit union laws can be obtained from LABOR AGE or from the Cooperative League of America, 167 West 12th Street, New York City.

The company credit union must be slain with the company labor union. And the real labor union credit union will do the trick!

THE "OPEN SHOPPERS" TEACH US SOMETHING

ITS name is the DETROITER. It is the "official publication of the Detroit Board of Commerce." Of course, it is dedicated to the "American Plan".

In its issue of May 31st it reports on the "American Plan Open Shop Conference" held at the Hotel Statler in its city the week before. "At this gathering", it says, "were the outstanding leaders of the American Plan and the Open Shop from all sections of the United States, and at the various sessions of the conference those in attendance were given the benefit of all their experience with organized labor domination and methods of procedure in establishing progress for the American Plan were described in detail."

The great climax came with a dinner, of course—the big boys are good at feeding themselves—at which Detroit was pictured as an All Open Shop city. Then, that good old gag, the Constitution, was dwelt upon in religious detail by Harry F. Atwood, the director of the National Constitutional League. All faces were turned, no doubt, toward the Sacred Cow in Washington, with reverential awe that it has torn the Constitution to bits and stood for workers' slavery just as it stood years ago for the continued bondage of the negro.

In an editorial, the paper urges business men in Detroit to free themselves entirely from "labor union domination". It calls for an attack on the building trades and for an end to the purchase of union products—so that there "will be nothing but a ghost of a union organization by next September when the American Federation of Labor meets here". With holy horror, it finds that in the Holy of Holies itself—the Board of Commerce—"we discover our buying has been rather lax in printed matter. Some of it—not very much, however, has come from closed shops". But an end will be put to that, it says, and never shall a union product cross our holy portals again.

Why do we quote this rubbish? To show that Labor must face the Chambers of Commerce as enemies to the death. It is time to quit hoping that maybe their hearts will change. It is time to quit having anything to do with these scab-herders, except to war upon them to the teeth. It has been a common practice of the Employing Interests to pat local labor leaders on the back, tell them

they are good fellows and brilliant specimens of American manhood. To use a timely slang expression, this is "a lot of bolony". Even when agreements are made—as they must be, as the workers advance step by step—Labor must always keep in mind that the employers will violate these agreements at the first opportunity. It is only strong union organization which will prevent their doing this.

Further, Labor must make the same study of its tactics as the employers are making of theirs, in their fight on the workers. We are grateful to the DETROITER for having unconsciously helped us along a bit.

THE CASE OF A. BECKERMAN

REVIVAL of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers in the New York market is a sight for sore eyes, as the old saw goes.

To bad industrial conditions, a few years ago, were added internal dissensions, based on rather remote and clashing political programs. "Rights" and "Lefts" engaged in a duel to the death. Which was not at all displeasing to the manufacturers, and did no good to the union. Things seemed to go from bad to worse. With other centers of the union thriving, New York presented a challenging picture.

It was at this stage that Local 4 of the Cutters—"Big 4", as it is called—stepped in, under the leadership of Abraham Beckerman. "The time to shake our heads in despair and to argue about political objectives has passed," they decided. "The thing to do is to roll up our sleeves and get down to business." Get down to business they did, by organizing the International Tailoring Co., a powerful concern, which gave them a fight. But the fight was won. The union merely quit trying to decide what was possible, and went out and did the "impossible". The whole market was put on a new basis. The union was revived all along the line, until it is now back in all its glory.

Various public testimonies have been given by friends and friendly groups to Beckerman and his militant colleagues. They have served to focus attention on the interesting feat he has accomplished. Others in the union ranks can see the point: The time to organize is all the time. The main thing to do is to go and do it.

"LABOR AGE" AIDS LA FOLLETTE

Informing Senator of Forgery by Mellon's Gang

WE are of some use to Progressive Senators. Even though not in the way suggested by the imaginative Freddy Marvin of the NEW YORK COMMERCIAL. One of the big bombs sprung at the Pennsylvania slush fund hearings at Washington was the revelation by Senator La Follette that the Mellon Gang had forged the name of President Green of the A. F. of L. to a false endorsement of Mellon's man, Fisher, for Governor.

The reproduction of this forgery appeared in our June issue. We immediately sent it to Senator La Follette, and Bob did the rest. May we add, that it is little things of this sort which LABOR AGE is doing that makes the NEW YORK COMMERCIAL and its gang mad.

Vital Issues

MORE FURY IN OUR FIGHTING

The Power Trust Can't Be Tickled to Death

WHEN we hit our noble noses against the wall, we ought to know by all our senses of dimension that the wall exists. When we see the Power Trust—Mr. Owen D. Young's Bund of Banditry—employing every device of experienced hold-up men to steal our natural resources, we should understand that pillow throwing will hardly halt them in their plots and purposes.

One thing is becoming thoroughly evident. That is, that all of us on the public side of the Power Battle are entirely too lady-like in our warring. We get out excellent reports. We collect reams of data. But we hesitate to call the General Electric Co. the Thieves and Rogues that they are. We fail to dramatize the issue, by picketing the Feeble-minded One in Washington—and denouncing his give-away of Muscle Shoals as the treasonable act that it is, another Teapot Dome. We hold no demonstration meetings before the offices of the General Electric Co., in New York or in any other city.

When the Giant Power Institute meets in Brookwood in this month of July, we hope to God it will do something about making a real fight of this Superpower issue. What good may it be, that Ontario is getting its water power at such lower rates than the befuddled American consumer gets, if we do not broadcast the message in its raw and rough facts to all the American people? What good, pray, is it that a cheap lawyer with an arrested mental development is blindly handing over our great natural resources for private graft at the behest of his friends, Mellon and Morrow—if the extent of his criminal driving is not realized?

We have faith in the Brookwood Giant Power Institute—as with everything else done at Brookwood—and that is why we are hailing it with this demand. Its motto must be: "No Compromise! No Quarter!" No compromise, through 50 year leases, or any other like Hoakum, which mean eternal leases. No quarter, by gentle tickling of the Power Trust, instead of hitting it by every means at our command. The Trust cannot be tickled to death. It must be killed.

"NATIONALIZATION" AIDS UNIONISM

SOME things, other than diseases, are catching. Mr. Sam Weller placed his waggish tongue in that category. He had caught it from his brother, with whom he slept when small.

Enthusiasm and programs are much of the same stuff. The epoch-making fight of the British miners cannot but inspire our own American workers, and coaldiggers in particular, to similar heroic deeds. A time of test is ahead. On March 31st of next year, the Jacksonville agreement in the soft coal fields expires. It has been constantly violated by the operators. They who have prated so much of the sanctity of contract have broken their union contracts at the first pretense offered.

Of the writing of books on the soft coal muddle, there is almost no end. We are thoroughly informed, now—or we should be—that that industry is in most disorganized and distressful straits. Soft coal is over-flooded with miners and with mines. It is in a similar condition to that of the industry in Britain.

March 31st will, therefore, be a pretty black date in American industrial history—unless someone discovers a national coal program. To expect the present paralyzed administration to do it, is merely dreaming the dreams of a fool. Coolidge et al have not even done anything about the \$600,000 coal report—which has been resting on their shelves for lo! these many years.

The operators won't do it. They have no more ability to rescue the industry than they showed when they got it in such a mess. Their only patriotism is to the Dollar, and that they cannot even think of in a big way. Their poverty of thought is summed up in their injunction against the Federal Trade Commission, preventing it from getting the facts about their bankrupt leadership.

The business seems to be up to the Miners. Unless they can find the policy, no one else will. They cannot accept the contract-breaking and wage-lowering tactics of the operators. For these tactics merely push the industry farther into the slough. There is no way to cure too much potential production by cutting wages. The over-production continues just the same. That calls for more cuts—and so on and on forever.

"Nationalization" has been the foundation rock of the Miners' hopes. But it has not been pushed vigorously, as the time (in the recent past) has not been considered opportune. Perhaps the hour has now come to consider this policy. No other appears on the horizon. Certainly, a "Nationalization" program finally adopted would put an end to the ills of the industry. Certainly, it would tie up workers and "public" in a joint program of shutting up useless mines, and using coal in newer ways—such as in super-power projects.

Further, it would give to the battle, that great enthusiasm, which marks the spirit of the British Miners. They are as shabbily treated, economically, as any group of workingmen can be. They have had excuse after excuse (in hearkening to the propaganda of their employers) to break with their union. But the star of "Nationalization", which they know is their supreme economic hope, has been their guide. It has given them courage. It has fused them together; as no other group of workers, perhaps, have been united. It has made them know that they were right, and that has brought strength in the midst of weakness.

In that sense, there is no greater aid to Unionism than "Nationalization". If the American Miners, who have already considered this program, take it up as their demand, all American Labor should rally to them.

In Other Lands

THE WORLD—AT A GLANCE

"Crisis" seems still to be the word that best explains Europe's multifold economic and political problems.

In spite of a magnificent women's demonstration in London in the "War Against War", in spite of the widely advertised "Locarno spirit", and in spite of the wistful hopes of the still-remaining champions of the League of Nations, the possibilities of new mass murder seem to be increasing rather than melting away. There is no honest effort anywhere, except among the Scandinavian countries, to disarm. The costs of present armaments are much greater than before the Great War. The only chance to stop another world-wide conflict within the next quarter of a century seems to lie in the capture of governments by the workers, with consequent universal disarmament.

Mussolini continues to talk about Italian "destiny", and his brother is so bold as to attack all the powers as schemers against Italy. Spain's dictator follows suit, with a further announcement that "democracy" is dead. And both take pleasure in the thought that they are supported in their position by the financial aid of Wall Street, apparently the greatest of all dictatorships. Russia and Roumania are not adding to the peacefulness of the picture by their quarrel over Bessarabia. It will be recalled that Roumania seized this territory during the confusion of the World War, and now refuses to give it back to the Soviets. Border fights between Russian and Roumanian troops are a day-to-day occurrence.

Pilsudski, as per the forecast in last month's "Labor Age", has taken the plunge and become Poland's dictator. He has done this in a clever way, by making a puppet President and placing himself in charge of the army. Russia is Pilsudski's bugaboo, and Poland is pledged to help Roumania in case this latter country wars with the Soviets. So, the Eastern European scene becomes decidedly cloudy.

Oil is written all over the agreement between Britain and Turkey over Mosul—and we leave that point to be discussed in another part of this issue. France will not come to the necessary step of taxing herself rigidly or of accepting the Socialists' program for a capital levy. Her franc continues to act dizzily, as a consequence.

Riots between "reds" and royalists marked the last week of the campaign for confiscation of the royal properties in Germany. The Socialists and Communists continued their remarkable gains made in the petition for the referendum; although President Hindenberg, contrary to custom, allowed himself to be drawn into the conflict on the royalist side.

In the trade union field: Norwegian workers, 30,000 strong, have walked out in a dispute over a proposed wage cut. The Austrian trade unions issue their report for 1925, showing gains in practically all of the disputes waged. The year saw many of them, due largely to the new method established for adjusting wage rates: by sections of industries instead of whole industries. The Finnish unions met in Congress in May and withdrew from affiliation with the Red Trade Union International. However, they refused likewise to join hands with Amster-

dam (the International Federation of Trade Unions). Educational and publicity work were the chief concern of the Congress. Social insurance—for unemployed, aged, and injured—was its chief demand.

The Enlarged Executive Committee of the Communist International has issued a revised program, in detail for every country. Shop and street nuclei are the form of organization now adopted for the spread of Communist ideas and activities. For the United States, factional fighting is frowned upon. Unity must be preserved in the Communist ranks at any cost, it is urged. Within the trade unions, the Communists are instructed to struggle for control, but the formation of secession movements or parallel unions is to be avoided. W. Z. Foster is restored to leadership of the American trade union work, but under strict discipline.

China's restlessness continues—a movement of great magnitude. The struggle has settled down to a duel between the European and American powers and Japan on the one hand, and Soviet Russia on the other. So far, the former have been able—to quote a distinguished German political writer—to encourage merely militarism in China and to show merely foreign militaristic tactics. The Soviets have been encouraging the idea of Chinese independence and the rise of the workers. Negotiations have definitely begun between the British at Hong-Kong and the Canton Strike Union for some settlement of the boycott which has all but ruined the port of Hong-Kong.

WHY HERRIOT, BRIAND, ETC.



Philadelphia Inquirer.

Mary and Her Little Lamb

THE GENERAL STRIKE—AND AFTER

FEAR of social revolution and fear of an injunction holding up trade union funds: these were the causes which led the leaders of the Trades Union Congress to put an end to the General Strike. Out of the torrent of opinion on the subject, this conclusion can be pieced together with some degree of certainty.

There was also the straw, grasped at in the midst of these fears, that the memorandum offered by Sir Herbert Samuel, chairman of the Coal Commission, as a basis for concluding the strike, would lead to a re-organization of the industry, a continuance of the coal subsidy, and a re-arrangement of wages satisfactory to the Miners. But any plan for wage cuts was bitterly opposed by the men of the pits, and the policy of Blundering Baldwin confirmed their judgment. No sooner was the General Strike off, than he began to amend the terms on which the leaders of the T. U. C. had acted. Now, in the middle of June, he has gone even farther and has introduced a bill for a restoration of the 8-hour day in place of the 7 hours now general in mining. What good that will do to anybody is a deep, dark mystery.

As to the "social revolution": It was an issue made by the Government. Showing its Tory colors—the same Tory Red that certain dangerous revolutionists upset in 1776—it proclaimed that all general struggles against Big Business were struggles against the Nation. To see the General Strike through to the end was, therefore, to see the Government overthrown by force. That was a trial which the T. U. C. felt unprepared to make. The parliamentary Labor Party was even more loathe to face it.

As to the injunction: That spectre was raised in the decision of Justice (Judge) Astbury, which declared that the "so-called General Strike called by the T. U. C. Committee is illegal and contrary to law, and those persons taking part in it are not protected by the Trade Disputes Act of 1906." This was the famous act passed through labor pressure, killing injunctions in labor disputes. But a General Strike was held not to be a trade dispute within the meaning of the Act. In bringing this decision to pass, the dog in the manger was none other than Havelock Wilson, General Secretary of the National Sailors' and Firemen's Union—who has sought often in the past to throw a monkey wrench into British labor unity. Justice Astbury, running true to the traditions of judicial tyranny, hit specifically at trade union funds. His decision was rendered on May 12th. The T. U. C. leaders decided to end the strike the same day.

Meanwhile, the Miners fight on. Their cause is the cause of the workers throughout the world. Their defeat will be felt in every land. Their victory will be a signal for fresh labor assaults on Big Business everywhere. The international character of the fight is shown by the funds coming in to the starving warriors of the pits: from every country on the face of the globe, including the United Mine Workers of America. More and more funds are needed. We should not fail at such an hour.

COOPERATION THRIVES IN RUSSIA

FROM Russia comes this amazing and encouraging news: That in the year 1925 the consumers cooperative societies rose from 22,000 to 25,000, the cooperative stores increased from 37,000 to 50,000, and the membership grew from 7,000,000 to over 9,000,000.

When the 40th Congress of the Russian Cooperatives met in Moscow in mid-April, this was the report given them. The cooperative trade is 20 per cent of the total of the Soviet Republic, while the State trade constitutes 41 per cent of the whole. Business connections have been set up on a large scale with the British and Scottish cooperatives, and in a smaller way with the Belgian and French movements. Offices are maintained in New York and other big commercial centers.

That cooperation stands aloof from political opinions and disregards petty national differences was shown in the representation at the Congress of delegates from the Cooperative Union of Great Britain, the English and Scottish societies, and those of Finland and Denmark. The manager of the cooperative society of Munich also spoke at the gathering.

Side by side with the consumers' movement have grown the agricultural cooperatives, numbering 40,000 today and covering 3,000,000 peasant families, according to their reports.

Russia has been, next to Great Britain, the land of the cooperative. By 1919 the movement had reached its height, but the incoming of the Bolshevik regime put a blight on it. The entire aim of the Communist leaders, at the outset, was the crushing of all enterprises except those run by the State. But the New Economic Policy changed much of that. The Cooperatives again came into their own, and are now viewed by the Soviets as powerful agents of national progress.

HELP THE BRITISH MINERS!

NO call for assistance comes so forcefully to us as that of the British Miners. Under the leadership of Herbert Smith, they are making a brilliant fight against great odds. From the NEW YORK HERALD-TRIBUNE of June 17th, we glean this example of what they are undergoing for their cause:

"A pathetic incident of the coal strike came to light when a Nottinghamshire miner was found in an exhausted condition near Kettering. Driven to desperation by the sight of his wife and children starving, he set out from his home in Mansfield for London—a distance of 13 miles—on a bicycle with a letter of appeal to Prime Minister Baldwin from his fellow miners.

"When he reached 10 Downing Street he was amazed to find that he could not gain admittance as a Cabinet meeting was being held there. On being assured that his letter would be taken to Mr. Baldwin, the miner started to cycle back to Mansfield. But at Kettering he was found by a policeman in a thoroughly exhausted condition, taken to the station and given a good meal."

Send all funds to the BRITISH MINER'S RELIEF COMMITTEE, Miss Evelyn Preston, Treasurer, 799 Broadway, New York City.

At the Library Table

BOOKS THAT HIT COMPANY UNIONISM

IN the account below, as at many other times, we have called attention to the two studies of the Russell Sage Foundation on the Rockefeller Company unions in Colorado. These studies explode those schemes with facts. They are issued by an agency which has no particular sympathy, we all know, with Organized Labor. They are, therefore, that much more forceful. Every trade union should have these books in its library, and should see that they are in the public library of its city.

THE SECRET OF HIGH WAGES Tell It to the Newspapers

WE are due for a flood of books by wise men, coming to our shores to find the secret of "high wages in America" and then telling us all about it.

An expedition of British workmen on this very mission has been in our midst, sent by a London newspaper. Last year two young English engineers—Bertram Austin and W. Francis—came among us for a like purpose.

The gentlemen have produced a little book—**THE SECRET OF HIGH WAGES**—published for this country by Dodd, Mead and Co. of New York. They, of course, are trying to stress American manufacturing methods for Britain, and, therefore, overlook a number of important items.

Nine points are brought forth as the cause of American "prosperity", all revolving about the greater efficiency of American management, its quickness at introducing time-saving machinery and its shrewdness in introducing bonus systems of payment to workers. The organization of workers in trade unions is considered to be a bad thing, with which American manufacturers do not have to trouble.

What has Organized Labor to say to this? In our opinion, it has not made the best of its case, in public up to date. And it has a powerful and convincing case to make. In the first place, high wages are due in part—but in part only—to some of these things. The basic items which have produced comparatively high wages in America are: Our position in being the Banker of the World and in the possession of endless natural resources, the restriction of immigration and therefore a labor shortage, and the existence of fear of organization. And the greatest of these is the last.

Our British engineers have taken a superficial view of the situation. The more careful studies of the Russell Sage Foundation (**EMPLOYEES REPRESENTATION IN COAL MINES** and **EMPLOYEES REPRESENTATION IN STEEL MILLS**) show that the wage existing in unorganized industries in America is due to agitation by union labor on the outside. The highest wages enjoyed in this country are those in the highly organized building and printing trades. Whenever wages are won in the Standard Oil and other bunk-throwing concerns, it is the outside agitator who wins the demand for the men inside.

The British engineers did not go to the workers in our unorganized (or organized) industries for the answer to their quest. They did not learn of the thousand and

one petty injustices done where the men are not in the union ranks—a matter to freemen as important as high wages.

They also did not grasp the important fact, further, that Coal is in as bad a shape here as in Britain; but that British industry is hit much harder by a coal crisis than here, because for us Coal is not as much of a vital industry as over there. They did not grasp a number of facts. But the important one for union labor in America to know—and to publish to the world in answer to the deluge of like propaganda that will come down upon us shortly—is that Organization and the Fear of Organization are the items which have assured high wages, where they have been high. And that, even as it is, the American worker does not get his share of his increased efficiency nor does he get a living wage all around. (The National Bureau of Economic Research, an impartial body, is responsible for the last statement).

Let us not fall for the "high wage" propaganda. But more important, let us tell our neighbors about it. We have looked in vain in local newspapers for letters from labor men showing the real facts.

OUR BEST REFERENCE BOOK

FOR quick reference on Labor facts and figures, both here and abroad, the best book that we have in America is the **AMERICAN LABOR YEAR BOOK**. Its seventh volume, just out, shows the steady improvement which had marked the book since Solon De Leon began to edit it.

Of course, the volume is complete in itself so far as the record of 1925 is concerned. It also gives a tentative list of labor conventions in 1926, exceedingly helpful to those who are watching what is happening as it takes place. It should be in every trade union library, and can be obtained from the Rand School, 7 East 15th Street, New York City, for \$3.00.

BROOKWOOD!!

THIS summer Brookwood's institutes run as follows: July 12-13, Textiles; July 19-31, Giant Power (under auspices of Electrical Workers); August 1-14, Railroad Labor. All who can do so should attend these valuable clearing houses of labor discussion. A fine vacation is also in store for him or her who goes there.

(**BROOKWOOD'S PAGES**—a regular feature of our magazine—will re-appear in the next issue. The pressure of current labor crises—in New Jersey—crowded them out this month.)

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